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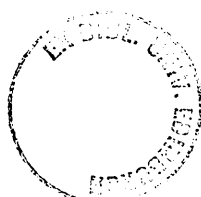
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Ezekiel in Revelation:
Literary and Hermeneutic Aspects

by
Wei Lo

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The University of Edinburgh
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Abstract

Ezekiel in Revelation: Literary and Hermeneutic

Concerning John's use of the OT in Revelation, recent scholarship has observed that in terms of closeness, the book of Ezekiel, among many other OT books, enjoys a particular status. For, not only have its many materials been adopted in Revelation, but the order of these materials appearing in the two books is, by and large, the same. These features, then, suggest that Revelation is literarily dependent on Ezekiel.

Against this background, this thesis, however, intends to show that besides this literary influence, the book of Ezekiel had also a hermeneutical effect on the book of Revelation. For this reason, in each of the four cases examined in the thesis, an exploration of how a certain OT tradition is used in a given Ezekielian passage is first offered, followed by an exploration of how this reinterpreted OT tradition is used and reinterpreted again in Revelation. When these tasks are done, a comparison of these two usages is then made so as to see how these two usages parallel each other. Each of the four cases is then concluded by stating the implication of the finding for the understanding of the book of Revelation.

Specifically, the four cases examined in the thesis are,

- (1) The comparison of Ezekiel's use of Eden tradition (Gen 1-3) in Ezekiel 28:11-19 with John's use of Ezekiel's oracle against the nation Tyre (Ezek 26-28) in Revelation 18;
- (2) The comparison of Ezekiel's use of the foe-from-the-north tradition in Ezekiel 38-39 with John's use of Gog oracle (Ezek 38-39) in Revelation 19-20;
- (3) The comparison of Ezekiel's use of the model of battle camp (Num 2-3) in Ezekiel 48:30-35 with John's use of the prophet's restoration program (Ezek 40-48) in Revelation 21; and
- (4) The comparison of Ezekiel's use of Eden tradition (Gen 2-3) in Ezekiel 47:1-12 with John's use of this river-of-life tradition (Ezek 47:1-12) in Revelation 22.

These four case studies show that though various interpretative principles have been involved in Ezekiel's use of his sources, these principles have been followed by John in his use of Ezekielian materials. This observation then leads us to the following conclusion: John, as the follower and witness of Jesus Christ (Rev 1:2, 9), is, in terms of hermeneutics, a true heir of the prophet Ezekiel.

As to the implications of the findings for the understanding of Revelation, the four case studies, in turn, argue for (1) the identification of the great harlot Babylon (Rev 18) as Rome, (2) the Amillennial view for Revelation 20:1-10, (3) the identification of the new Jerusalem (Rev 21) as the New Testament church, and (4) the view taking the river of life (Rev 22) as the symbol for salvation.

Acknowledgments

Several preliminary matters need to be noted here. First, the biblical texts cited in this thesis are taken from the following editions: (1) *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, eds. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart, 1983; (2) *Septuaginta*, ed. A. Rahlfs, Württembergische Bibelanstalt, Stuttgart, 1935; and (3) *The Greek New Testament*, 4th edition, eds. K. Aland et al., United Bible Society, 1994.

Second, in citing a secondary work, such as a monograph, commentary or an article, full bibliographical information is given only when it is first cited. Thereafter, a shortened form is used. The shortened titles for those most often used monographs and articles are to be found in the table of abbreviations (pages v-vi).

Third, it goes without saying that a work of this sort is indebted to many others. Among them, I would like to mention Professor L. Hurtado, the supervisor of the thesis, my parents, On-Chi and Mu-Ying Lo, my father-in-law, Shun-Chin Hwang, and especially my wife, Sophie Lo.

Abbreviations

<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>ASTI</i>	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<i>Decoding Revelation's Trumpets</i>	Paulien, J. <i>Decoding Revelation's Trumpets: Literary Allusions and the Interpretation of Revelation 8:7-12</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>Ezekiel in the Apocalypse</i>	Ruiz, J. -P. <i>Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16,17 - 19,10</i>
<i>HAR</i>	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
<i>IDB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions</i>	Fekkes, J. <i>Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and their Development</i>
<i>ISBE</i>	<i>International standard Bible Encyclopedia</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal of the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>L'Apocalypse</i>	J. Lambrecht, ed. <i>L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament</i>
<i>L'utilisation</i>	Vanhoye, A. "L'utilisation du livre d'Ezéchiel dans l'Apocalypse"

<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>
<i>RevThom</i>	<i>Revue thomiste</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
The Order	Lust, J. "The Order of the Final Events in Revelation and in Ezekiel"
<i>The Interpretation</i>	Vogelgesang, J. M. <i>The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Book of Revelation</i>
<i>The Use</i>	Beale, G. K. <i>The Use of the Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John</i>
<i>The Influence</i>	Ozanne, C. G. <i>The Influence of the Text and Language of the Old Testament on the Book of Revelation</i>
<i>The Text</i>	Trudinger, L. P. <i>The Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation</i>
<i>The Climax</i>	Bauckham, R. <i>The Climax of Prophecy</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<i>TWOT</i>	<i>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Any one who engages in a serious reading, let alone the interpretation, of the book of Revelation will eventually encounter the issue of the use of the OT in Revelation. For, here and there, if not everywhere, familiar OT imageries or phrases stand out from the lines, making the reader wonder: What is going on here? Why is it that I got the impression that somehow I am familiar with the things I read, though I am not particularly familiar with this last book of the Bible? What is the purpose of the author in borrowing these imageries and phrases from the OT? What is his intention? What effect does this have on my understanding of this book?

These questions and the like are certainly legitimate and it would be valuable to pursue them all. However, as a work concerned with the issue of the use of the OT in Revelation, this thesis is not intended to cover all aspects involved, but aimed to show a particular facet of the issue in question. Yet before stating what exactly that facet is, a survey of this century's scholarship on the issue will firstly be given, for it is against this background that the facet which this thesis aims to show will be seen most clearly. For this reason, the survey given below will be a brief one and is not intended to be exhaustive.¹ Its purpose is simply to provide a general backdrop for this thesis, presenting especially the state of research in the past two decades.

¹ For example, M. D. Ezell's *A Study of the Book of Revelation with Special Reference to Its Jewish Literary Background* (Ph. D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1970) is not included in the survey. The reason for this is twofold. First, on the use of the OT in Revelation, the dissertation covers only some twenty cases which, in terms of proportion, are relatively small. Second, the conclusions the author arrived at are similar to R. H. Charles's, whose work will be included in our survey. Based on the first reason given above, W. K. Hedrick's *The Sources and Use of the Imagery in Apocalypse 12* (Ph. D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1970) and J.

In surveying the scholarship of this century, one thing, among many others, stands out: In referring to a previous work, the author of Revelation, John,² used no introductory formulas of any sort.³ His way of referencing is what we today called allusion,⁴ a literary craft defined by M. C. Tenney as follows: "An allusion consists of one or more words which by their peculiar character and general content are traceable to a known body of text, but which do not constitute a complete reproduction of any part of it."⁵ References of this sort, therefore, pose naturally the question: how do we identify or recognize allusions in a given passage? Thus in the last part of this introduction chapter this methodological problem will also be addressed.

A Brief Survey of this Century's Scholarship on the Use of the Old Testament in Revelation

H. B. Swete (1906)

In his commentary,⁶ H. B. Swete devoted a whole chapter to the issue considered here.⁷ There, he first pointed out that, though the book of Revelation is marked by an entire absence of the formal quotations, it is however heavily loaded

Paulien's *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets: Literary Allusions and the Interpretation of Revelation 8:7-12* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1987) are not included in the survey also. But these two works will come into view in the later part of this chapter where the issue concerning how to identify allusions from a given passage is being addressed; for the two works, particularly the later one, have made substantial contributions to that certain issue.

- ² For the reason of convenience and also for the reason that the author of the book thus named himself (Rev 1:1), I will use "John" in this thesis for the author of the book. It has no implication to my view on the authorship of the book.
- ³ Such as, "It is written" (γέγραπται); "Have you not read" (Οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε); "In order that it might be fulfilled" (ἵνα πληρωθῇ); and the like.
- ⁴ Various terms have been employed by scholars for John's way of reference, but for popularity, "allusion" will be used in this thesis.
- ⁵ *Interpreting Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), 102.
- ⁶ *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London: Macmillan, ²1907). The first edition was published by the same publisher in 1906.
- ⁷ That is, chapter thirteen of the Introduction (cxi-clviii), which is titled "Use of the OT and of Other Literature." On the use of the "other literature," i.e., the use of the earlier New Testament writings and Apocalyptic works, Swete suggests two things. First, except in the case of our Lord's sayings, John was not indebted to the Christian writers who preceded him (clvi-clviii). Second, though sharing with the Jewish apocalyptists the stock of apocalyptic imagery and mystical and eschatological thought, John's allusions are mainly made to the OT (clviii). These remarks, however, bear no direct relevance to our concern here, so no further space will be given to them.

with words and thoughts from the OT. For, according to B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort,⁸ out of 404 verses of the book "there are 278 which contain references to the Jewish Scriptures."⁹ To this, a list of some 200 references is then added by Swete as proof, in which Revelation texts are given in one column and the OT texts, in Greek according to the LXX, Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, in the other. A few remarks, then, follow this list.¹⁰

1. John uses all three divisions of the OT and most of the OT books. Among these books, the Psalms (27 times), Isaiah (46 times), Ezekiel (29 times), Daniel (31 times), in terms of frequency, take the lead. The reason for this is that these books abound in mystical and apocalyptic elements.
2. The references are of two kinds. First, OT words and phrases are used without having special allusion to particular contexts. Second, allusions are made with specific OT passages in mind.
3. John blends two or more OT contexts, whether from different books or from different parts of the same book.
4. John, as Christian prophet, indeed uses OT, but "he does not allow his OT author to carry him a step beyond the point at which the guidance ceases to lend itself to the purpose of his book."¹¹
5. John's OT allusions are mainly based on the LXX, except those that made to Daniel (Theodotion).

In general, Swete's remarks are helpful, for they present not only the whole picture, but also some of the features that John has, such as John's blending two or more OT sources in his work. The particular status of Daniel in the matter discussed here has also been noted. But as to the issue concerning John's relation to the OT authors (point 4 above), Swete's remark is not totally correct. As will be shown in this thesis, the relation between John and the OT writers, at least between him and Ezekiel, is much closer than what Swete had thought.

R. H. Charles (1920)

In his commentary, R. H. Charles, like Swete, devoted also an entire chapter to John's use of the OT, Pseudepigrapha, and the New Testament books.¹² On the author's use of the OT, Charles observed:

⁸ Here the book Swete referred to is *The New Testament in the Original Greek*. Vol. 2.

⁹ *The Apocalypse*, cxl.

¹⁰ Ibid., cliii-clvi.

¹¹ Ibid., cliv.

¹² *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Revelation of St. John*. Vol. I (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), lxxv-lxxvi.

1. John uses most of the OT books. He uses mostly the prophetic books, for not only does he constantly use Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, but he also refers to, in a less degree, other prophetic writings. In addition to this, John also uses Psalms, all the books in the Pentateuch and probably Joshua, 1 and 2 Samuel and 2 Kings.
2. The main feature of John's use of the OT is that, though not in the form of literal quotation, the author draws his materials directly from the Hebrew text (or Aramaic in the case of Daniel).¹³ "He did not quote from any Greek Version, though he was often influenced in his renderings by the LXX¹⁴ and another later Greek Version, a revised form of the ó (i.e. the LXX),¹⁵ which was subsequently revised and incorporated by Theodotion in his version."¹⁶
3. Besides the instances in which the OT passages are clearly behind the Revelation texts, the author, in some other instances, also used phrases and clauses which are echoes of the OT passages.¹⁷

Like Swete, Charles also noted the extensive use of the OT in Revelation, which is evidenced by some 200 references given in the three lists (lists 3, 4, and 5). Again, like Swete, Charles also distinguished John's use of the OT in two kinds; one that more directly alludes to the OT, and the other that is merely echoing its OT source. But as to the textual issue, Charles has taken a different position from that of Swete. For, without denying the influence of the LXX and of a later Greek version (or the "Ur-Theodotion"), he insisted that John's use of the OT is mainly based on the Hebrew texts. This stance, surely, will immediately prompt the question, whose position, i.e., Swete's or Charles's, is more likely to be the case? This question, however, will be left unanswered until more works are reviewed.

A. Vanhoye (1962)

Compared to what Swete and Charles intended to do, i.e., to deal with the influence of the entire OT on Revelation, A. Vanhoye's intention was more concentrated, i.e., to investigate only "L'utilisation du Livre d'Ézéchiél dans L'Apocalypse."¹⁸

In this article, Vanhoye addressed three related issues: "Étendue de l'utilisation," "Utilisation de la LXX?", and "Aspects de l'utilisation."¹⁹ On the first issue, Vanhoye observed that, against the background that the Apocalypse never

¹³ For the references of this sort, see *ibid.*, lxxviii-lxxvii; where some 150 examples are given.

¹⁴ For the references of this sort, see *ibid.*, lxxviii-lxxix; where some 40 examples are listed.

¹⁵ For the references of this sort, see *ibid.*, lxxx-lxxxi; where some 20 examples are given.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, lxvi.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, lxxxi-lxxxii; where some 30 instances are cited.

¹⁸ *Biblica* 43 (1962), 436-76.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 436-42.

introduced its sources with quotation marks, the author, however, has made three exact citations from Ezekiel (Rev. 1:15 to Ezek 43:2; Rev 10:10 to Ezek 3:3; and Rev 18:1 to Ezek 43:2). Besides these three cases, Vanhoye also noted that in other four instances, the texts of Ezekiel have been lightly retouched (Cf. in turn Rev 7:14, 11:11, 18:19, 18:21 with Ezek 37:3, 37:10, 27:30, 26:21). In addition to these verbal connections, Vanhoye then listed 8 cases, termed by him as the "utilisations d'ensemble,"²⁰ so as to demonstrate that at points the two books are thematically related.

1. The inaugural vision of Ezek 1 (and ch. 10) inspires the celestial vision of Rev 4:1-8.
2. The swallowing of the scroll in Ezek 2:8ff is used in both Rev 5:1 and Rev 10:1-4, 8-11.
3. The sentence against prostitution of Jerusalem in Ezek 16 and 23 inspires the presentation of the Great harlot in Rev 17:1-6, 15-18.
4. The laments over the fall of Tyre in Ezek 26 and 27 echo in the laments over the fall of Babylon in Rev 18:9-19.
5. The feast of birds and beasts after the defeat of Gog in Ezek 39:4, 17-21 has its correspondent in Rev 19:17-21.
6. The invasion and the defeat of Gog in Ezek 38 and 39 are evoked explicitly in an abridgment, Rev 20:8-9.
7. The measurement of the Temple and the new city is used in both Rev 11:1-2 and Rev 21:10-27.
8. The imagery of the river of life in Ezek 47 is reflected in Rev 22:1-2.²¹

On this list, Vanhoye then remarked, "l'ordre de leur apparition dans l'Apocalypse reproduit, à peu de chose près, l'ordre du livre d'Ézéchiel. Ce fait vient confirmer, de façon éclatante, que l'influence de ce prophète s'est exercée sur le voyant de Patmos dans des proportions considérables."²²

As to the issue concerning the text form of the OT in Revelation,²³ Vanhoye took a position opposite to that of Swete, insisting that the author's utilization of Ezekiel is not based on the LXX but on the Hebrew text. To arrive at this stance, Vanhoye first examined the cases which have been taken as examples to show the dependence of Revelation on the LXX. These reexaminations, he suggested, show that all the alleged cases can be explained otherwise. They do not necessarily suggest reliance on the LXX. After this, Vanhoye then turned back to the cases he

²⁰ Ibid., 440.

²¹ To demonstrate what he meant by "utilisation d'ensemble," cases 3 and 6 given here have been closely examined by Vanhoye. For details, see Ibid., 441-42.

²² Ibid., 442.

²³ Ibid., 443-461.

offered in the beginning of this article, the cases in which the texts of Ezekiel have been exactly, or very closely, followed. These cases, said Vanhoye, point to the direct use of the Hebrew text.

With regard to the aspects of John's use of Ezekiel,²⁴ Vanhoye's observations are as follows. (1) John's use of Ezekiel is firstly characterized by "double utilisation,"²⁵ for many imageries from Ezekiel appear twice in different points of Revelation. (2) Contrary to the trend of other apocalyptic works which amplify the sources they used, Revelation, in most of the instances, abridged and condensed its sources.²⁶ (3) While simplifying his sources, John, however, has maintained the main elements of his sources and repeatedly used them in his writing. This practice creates an impression of unity to his work.²⁷ (4) Many of the materials that John borrowed from Ezekiel have gone through a process of "universalization": I.e., the materials that concern only Israel have been transformed by John so as to be applicable also for the nations.²⁸ (5) It is constant practice for John to combine several thematically related OT texts in a given passage. This feature demonstrates not only his fidelity to the former revelation and the extent of his familiarity with the OT, but also his creativeness.

Vanhoye's work is commendable in at least three aspects. First, he has successfully drawn our attention to the relationship between Ezekiel and Revelation, particularly the aspect of the over-all thematic correspondence that he observed in the first part of his article. Second, his reexamination of Swete's thesis and his remarks on the characteristics of how John uses Ezekiel are also worthy of mention. Third, besides what exactly he himself has achieved, Vanhoye's work served also as a herald, suggesting that more concentrated studies needed to be done in the future.²⁹

²⁴ Ibid., 461-72.

²⁵ Examples of this are, the imagery of scroll (Ezek 2:8-3:3 in Rev 5:1, 10:8-18), the imagery of cup (Jer 51:7 in Rev 17:4, 18:6), and the imageries of the new temple and the new temple (Ezek 40-48 in Rev 11:1, 21:10). For details, see Ibid., 462-63.

²⁶ Examples of this include the condensations of Ezekiel 1:4-28 in Revelation 4:2-11, of Ezekiel 16 and 23 in Revelation 17, of Ezekiel 26-27 in Revelation 18:9-19, etc. See *ibid.*, 463-64.

²⁷ The use of the phrase "to cry and to moan" (Ezek 27:31) in Revelation 18:9, 11, 15, 19 is an example of this. For other examples, see *ibid.*, 464-56.

²⁸ E.g., while the scroll Ezekiel swallowed symbolizes the message of God to Israel (Ezek 3:11), the scroll John swallowed concerns many peoples, nations, languages, and kings. For more examples, see *ibid.*, 466-67.

²⁹ Vanhoye's work, however, is not without deficiencies. These deficiencies, it seems to me, mainly

L. P. Trudinger (1963)

Focused on the question, "Upon which text/texts of the OT, i.e., the Hebrew text as preserved in the MT, the LXX, the Targums, or some other Greek versions of the OT, did the author of Revelation make his references?", L. P. Trudinger submitted his doctoral dissertation.³⁰ This question, as Trudinger rightly observed, has been addressed in the past, but since the earlier studies were either partial or inconclusive and arrived at different conclusions (e.g., Swete's vs. Charles's), it had to be re-addressed.³¹

In the first chapter of his dissertation, Trudinger first addressed some preliminary issues, such as what is a "quotation," and the kinds of quotation found in the book. There he also related the rationale behind his investigations. (1) The cases scrutinized in the work are taken, basically, from the list of references found in Westcott-Hort's Greek New Testament, to which list some other lists found elsewhere are also added.³² (2) On these lists, an initial comparison of Revelation with the alleged OT texts (the MT and the LXX) is made to eliminate the cases that are of little value for this study. (3) The remaining cases are then studied, in which the Revelation texts are compared with the MT, the LXX, and "where the availability of texts made it possible, the Aramaic of the Targums, the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion."³³ Occasionally, the variant readings found in the DSS, the Hexaplaric and the Lucianic recensions are also noted, and "where available, the Midrashim on the texts were read and noted, along with other rabbinical commentary material."³⁴

These case studies, however, are divided into two categories, i.e., quotation and allusion. For, "an allusion differs from a quotation in that the word-sequence

resulted from his not paying enough attention to the book of Ezekiel. As will be seen in the later part of this thesis, some of Vanhoye's observations are subjected to refinement.

³⁰ *The Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation* (Ph. D. diss., Boston University, 1963).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1-9.

³² E.g., C. H. Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament* (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884); E. Hühn, *Die messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes bis zu den Targumim* (Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899); Charles, *Revelation*; etc.

³³ *The Text*, 38-39.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

found in the original source is not adhered to in an allusion as it is in a quotation."³⁵

These two sorts of case studies are delivered in turn in the second and the third chapters,³⁶ which constitute the main body of his dissertation.

Having examined 53 quotation cases in chapter 2 and 64 allusion cases in chapter 3, Trudinger continues to assess his findings in chapter 4.³⁷

1. Concerning the quotations from Daniel, "the evidence is strongly in favor of the Aramaic of Daniel as the basis for the quotations."³⁸
2. As to the remaining OT quotations, "the evidence afforded by these quotations argues for a Semitic version of the source passage, rather than a Greek one, as the basis for the quotations."³⁹
3. With regard to the allusions to Daniel, "the writer of Revelation knew and based his allusions to Daniel upon the MT tradition of Daniel."⁴⁰
4. In considering the remaining allusions to the OT, "The above analysis of the evidence leads again to a recognition of the predominance of the influence of the Semitic O.T. sources."⁴¹

These assessments, then led Trudinger to conclude: "(1) In his many references to the OT, the writer of Revelation is informed chiefly by the Hebrew Scriptures. (2) While the exact text or texts of these Hebrew Scriptures cannot be ascertained, the evidence suggests that, for the most part, they followed the text tradition preserved by the Massoretes to about the same degree as IQIsa might be said to support the M.T. tradition. (3) The author knew and made use of the Targumic paraphrases of the Scriptures, and especially the Palestinian Targums on the Pentateuch. (4) The author was familiar with many phrases from the Greek versions of the O.T., though most probably not with the LXX as a whole. (5) It seems most probable that the writer was acquainted with some of the O.T. passages as they appeared in early Christian "testimonia."⁴²

Trudinger's investigation confirms, in the main, Charles's observation that the Hebrew Scripture is the text upon which the author of Revelation made his references. But the thoroughness of Trudinger's study has made his case much more

³⁵ Ibid., 20.

³⁶ Ibid., 42-94; 95-147.

³⁷ Ibid., 148-174. See also 184-89 where the result of his studies on each case has been given in a chart form.

³⁸ Ibid., 151.

³⁹ Ibid., 152.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 153.

⁴¹ Ibid., 154.

⁴² Ibid., 175.

convincing than that of Charles. In many details, Trudinger's work is also more accurate than Charles's. The evidence accumulated from his some 120 case studies sustains strongly the claims he made.

C. G. Ozzanne (1964)

One year after Trudinger obtained his Ph. D. title, C. G. Ozzanne submitted also his doctoral thesis, *The Influence of the Text and Language of the Old Testament on the Book of Revelation*.⁴³ As the title suggested, Ozzanne's concern is not just the texts of the OT used in Revelation, but also the influence of the language of the OT on the Apocalypse. Accordingly, his thesis is divided into two parts. The first concentrates on the "ungrammaticisms" (or the Hebraisms) of the language of the book of Revelation, and the second the verbal allusions found in Revelation to the OT. The Hebraisms of the language of Revelation surely deserve attention, but since this is not the concern of this thesis, we will give no further space to it except noting Ozzanne's conclusion: the Hebraism of the book is best explained as the author's deliberate attempt "to model his language on the classical Hebrew of the OT."⁴⁴

In the second part of his work, Ozzanne examined the allusions of Revelation to the OT in three categories: (1) Verbal allusions to Daniel,⁴⁵ (2) Verbal allusions to the rest of the OT,⁴⁶ and (3) Verbal echoes and Reminiscences of the OT.⁴⁷ On the basis of some 300 case studies, Ozzanne arrived at the following remarks which are classified in two groups.⁴⁸

⁴³ University of Manchester, 1964.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 2. For more details, see 60-65; where other explanations are noted and questioned. Among them, the following three are worth noting. (1) R. B. Y. Scott maintained that Revelation was written in Hebrew and then translated into Greek, and this accounts for its Hebraisms. (2) C. C. Torrey suggested that the translation from Aramaic accounts for the solecisms of the Greek of Revelation. (3) R. H. Charles held that the Hebraisms of the book resulted from the characteristic of the author, for while he writes in Greek, he thinks in Hebrew. For a more recent work on the Semitism of Revelation, see S. Thompson, *The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁴⁵ *The Influence*, 66-82, in which 27 cases are given.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 83-152, in which 104 cases are studied.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 153-190, where 171 cases are examined.

⁴⁸ For conciseness, we will list only the remarks Ozzanne made on the use of the OT in Revelation. His observations on the issue "if John also uses Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha or not?" will not be mentioned below. For details of this, see *ibid.*, 193-95. Again, for conciseness, Ozzanne's remarks given below have been re-grouped.

1. Form

- a. "The author of Rev used habitually and almost exclusively the original Hebrew of the OT. Examples where he used the LXX are few and uncertain."⁴⁹
- b. "If Septuagintal influence can barely be discerned, influence from a pre-Theodotonic Greek text, as suggested by Charles, is wholly absent."⁵⁰
- c. Concerning the DSS, "the only point of contact between the Apoc and 1Q Is^a, against the MT, is the word אִרְאָה in Isa 47:8, corresponding to ἰδὼ in Rev 18:7. It is, however, far from certain that our author was acquainted with this reading. The correspondence could well be fortuitous, especially since ἰδὼ is similar both in sense and in sound to the Massoretic אִרְע. Elsewhere the Apoc diverges from 1Q Is^a in conformity with the MT."⁵¹
- d. The methods John used when citing the OT are very varied. Its characters are as follows.
 - (1) The absence of formal quotation, though there are a few word for word citations.⁵² In these cases of citation, the author's purpose is evidenced, i.e., to bring the readers to the OT passages to which he alluded, and normally, the OT action or prophecy is exactly repeated or fulfilled in the words of the Apoc.⁵³
 - (2) Normally, it is our author's custom to conflate two or more texts in a fairly free manner.⁵⁴
 - (3) Not infrequently, our author has rejected the latter part of an OT passage in favour of another context, which speaks in similar, though different terms.⁵⁵
 - (4) Very often he inverted the two parts of a text to which he was alluding.⁵⁶
 - (5) Sometimes his rendering was determined by the similarity in sound between the Hebrew word and its Greek equivalent.⁵⁷
 - (6) The juxtaposition of two allusions was occasionally influenced by the repetition of the same word in both. More often, however, it was the repetition of idea which governed the combination.⁵⁸ These features then suggest that the author's method is not 'a mosaic' kind of work.
- e. Finally, there are certain minor amendments of his source in which our author habitually indulges, such as (1) prefixing πάν to neuter nouns, (2) adding ὁ παντοκράτωρ to the title ὁ θεός, (3) using (τοὺς) αἰώνας (τῶν) αἰώνων for עולָם, and (4) substituting 'God' for 'Lord'.⁵⁹

2. Sense

- a. Fulfilment of the OT Prophecy. "It can hardly be doubted that the author of Rev saw in the events of his own day and of the immediate future the direct fulfillment of many OT predictions. This applies particularly in the case of Dan."⁶⁰
- b. Context sensitive. "Not only predictions of the future, but many other references are cited in the Apoc with the same, or approximately the same, contextual significance as in the OT."⁶¹

⁴⁹ Ibid., 191.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 192.

⁵¹ Ibid., 192-93.

⁵² Examples of this include (1) Rev 12:6 to Num 16:32 and 26:10, (2) Rev 20:9 to 2 Kgs 1:10, (3) Rev 1:15 to Ezek 43:2, (4) Rev 12:14 and 13:5 to Dan 7:25 and 7:8, 20, (5) Rev 13:7 to Dan 7:21, and (6) Rev 21:1 to Isa 65:17. See Ibid., 195-96.

⁵³ Ibid., 195.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 196.

⁵⁵ *Idem.*

⁵⁶ Ibid., 196-97.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 197.

⁵⁸ *Idem.*

⁵⁹ Ibid., 198; where Ozanne has given references for these habitual amendments.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 199. For examples of this, see there.

⁶¹ Ibid., 200. For examples, see there.

- c. Reapplication or Transformation. "By far the largest number of allusions is used, often with considerable alteration, on account of the similarity between the OT situation or event and that in the Apoc."⁶² But, "while the majority of allusions have been adapted to their new contexts, and conflated with other scriptures, there are just a few which have been so extensively transformed as to be barely recognizable."⁶³
- d. "There is a large number of phrases and short sentences which have been cited without regard to any OT context."⁶⁴
- e. "A great many supplementary allusions were suggested by their verbal connection with the main allusion, with little or no regard to context."⁶⁵ This indicates that "our author had a remarkable knowledge of the letter of Scripture."⁶⁶
- f. "Finally, there are several allusions to Dan, in which the original text has been skilfully adapted so as to teach the imminence of the events predicted."⁶⁷

As a work aimed at re-examining the past scholarship on the issue of the use of OT in Revelation, particularly that of Charles and Swete,⁶⁸ Ozanne's thesis is a capable one, for by detailed examinations of some 300 cases, Charles's and Swete's views have been critically evaluated. This, however, is not the only contribution of Ozanne's work. As summarized above, Ozanne's observations on (1) the method John used when citing OT and (2) the rationale, or in Ozanne's terminology, the sense, behind the allusions, have enhanced, in general and in details, our understanding of the issue considered here.⁶⁹

G. K. Beale (1984)

As far as the issue in question is concerned, the past two decades have probably been the most prolific years in the history of the study of Revelation. Many works, mostly doctoral theses, have concentrated, in one way or the other, on the relationship between Revelation and the OT. Among them, the work of G. K. Beale,

⁶² Ibid., 201. For examples of this, see 201-03.

⁶³ Ibid., 203. For examples, see there.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 204. For examples, see there. These phrases or short sentences belong, however, to the category of common apocalyptic terminology or of common idiom.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 204. For examples of this, see 204-05.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 205.

⁶⁷ *Idem.*

⁶⁸ Ibid., 2-3.

⁶⁹ Similar to the works of Trudinger and of Ozanne is S. F. Mathews' *A Critical Evaluation of the Allusions to the Old Testament in Apocalypse 1:1-8:5* (Ph. D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1987). Though more recent than the two works surveyed above, this dissertation is not to be reviewed in this thesis for the following reasons. First, in terms of proportion, the dissertation covers only a third of the materials of Revelation. Second, in the dissertation the author used, in the main, the criterion of verbal connection as the only means to determine allusions, a method that is too narrow for the matter (for more details, see below). Third, the findings of this dissertation agree with what have been observed by Trudinger and Ozanne.

The Use of the Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John,⁷⁰ will be first reviewed.

As hinted in its title, Beale's work is composed, except introduction and conclusion, in two parts: the use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic literature and the use of Daniel in Revelation. Since our concern here is John's use of the OT in Revelation, we will focus on the second part of his thesis only.

In this part of the book, four Revelation passages (chs. 1, 4-5, 13, 17) have been examined.⁷¹ In each of these four case studies, the allusions to Daniel and to other OT books are firstly listed in three categories: clear allusion, probable allusion, and possible allusion or echo. Then, detailed analyses of these allusions followed with a concern of the following questions. (1) What is the significance of the author's intensive use of Daniel in the Revelation passage? (2) Why and how have other OT allusions been brought together with those from Daniel? (3) What is the theological significance of the allusions, especially those from Daniel?⁷²

On the use of Daniel in Revelation 1, Beale arrived at the following views: (1) John's intensive use of Daniel 7 and 10 in Revelation 1 has made the two Daniel passages as a *Vorbild* for the Revelation passage, and therefore Revelation 1:8-20 "are a 'midrash' on these two chapters from Daniel."⁷³ (2) Other OT references found also in Revelation 1 are brought forward and combined with the Danielic *Vorbild* so "to supplement the Daniel midrash."⁷⁴ "These references have been connected in John's thought by underlying transitional links via key-word or common theme."⁷⁵ (3) As to the theological significance of this case, "the Vorbild of Daniel 7 and 10 has been employed in interpreting the fulfillment of the Daniel 7 kingdom prophecy which has been inaugurated by Christ's resurrection."⁷⁶

⁷⁰ N.Y.: University Press of America, 1984. The book is a revised version of the author's Ph. D. dissertation (Cambridge, 1980).

⁷¹ Ibid., 154-270.

⁷² Ibid., 170-71.

⁷³ Ibid., 171. A thematic parallelism found between Rev 1 and Dan 7 are given in 172-73 to sustain his claim.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 173.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 174.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 177.

Concerning the use of Daniel in Revelation 4-5,⁷⁷ Beale concluded: (1) "Daniel 7:9ff. is the model which lies behind the chap. 4-5 vision because of the same basic structure of common ideas and images, which is supplemented by numerous phrases having varying degrees of allusion to the text of Daniel."⁷⁸ (2) By the connections of parallel element, such as themes, images, key-words, or catch-phrases, other OT passages are also alluded to and merged with those that come from Daniel. "Daniel 7 could have been an underlying 'hermeneutical magnet' attracting other parallel O.T. texts."⁷⁹ (3) By patterning Revelation 4-5 after Daniel 7:9ff., the Revelation passage pictures the fulfilment of the Daniel 7 prophecy which concerns the universal reign of the 'son of man' and of the saints, an event inaugurated by the Christ's death and resurrection.⁸⁰

As to the use of Daniel in Revelation 13,⁸¹ Beale summarized his findings in these remarks. (1) Two-thirds of the OT allusions found in this Revelation chapter come from Daniel. (2) Like the two former cases, Daniel 7 is the main source for this Revelation passage. For, a threefold pattern found in both Daniel 7:3-6 and 7:13-14, i.e., (a) the appearing of an agent in the scene, (b) the giving over of power to the agent, and (c) the effect of this authorization, is also readily discernible in both Revelation 13:1-8 and 13:11-17. (3) This using of the OT, in terms of content, is an inverted one,⁸² for the main character of the Daniel 7 scene, i.e., "a son of man," has been substituted with the two Beasts in the Revelation 13.

Finally, with regard to the use of Daniel in Revelation 17,⁸³ Beale concluded: (1) In terms of the proportion of OT allusions found in Revelation 17, Daniel 7, once again, is the dominant OT source behind this Revelation chapter. (2) This observation is further sustained by the observation that the two passages are structurally and thematically paralleled. For, the two passages not only have the

⁷⁷ Ibid., 178-228.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 223.

⁷⁹ *Idem.*

⁸⁰ Ibid., 227.

⁸¹ Ibid., 229-48.

⁸² For a more detailed discussion of this sort of using OT, see ed. G. K. Beale, *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Essays on the Use of the OT in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 270-72.

⁸³ *The Use*, 249-67.

same visionary pattern, i.e., a vision followed by the seer's response and then by the interpretation, but also concern the same motifs, i.e., (a) vision of a horrible beast(s) with heads and horns, (b) the seer's emotional response followed by angelic counsel, and (c) the interpretation focusing on the beast and its horns.

Following these four case studies is Beale's observations on the influence of Daniel on the Apocalypse as a whole. First, the two books share the same themes, for both equally concern (1) God's cosmic judgment and the establishment of the divine kingdom, (2) God's sovereignty over the earthly rulers which was seen in his using the kings' own rebellions to accomplish His purpose, and (3) the situation of the saints who were under the ruling of an ungodly power. These thematic parallelisms, Beale suggested, point to a general theological dependence of the Apocalypse upon Daniel.⁸⁴ Second, John's making the allusions to Daniel 2:28-29, 45 in the four important division points of Revelation, i.e., 1:1, 1:19, 4:1, and 22:6, suggests that this Danielic passage provides the basic framework for Revelation and therefore the book is to be understood in the eschatological context of Daniel 2, i.e., the defeat of cosmic evil and the ushering in the divine kingdom.⁸⁵ (3) Some of the visions of Revelation, such as the visions of seals, trumpets, and bowls, are paralleled to the visions of Daniel (chs. 2, 7, 8, 9, 10-12) in that these visions, in their own book, cover the same period of time. In other words, the visions of Daniel and of Revelation are equally featured with synchronism.⁸⁶

Beale's treatment of the use of Daniel in Revelation, has been criticized, in the main, in his designation of Revelation 1:8-20 as a midrash on Daniel 7 and 10. For, John's use of the two Daniel chapters does not necessarily make them the object of interpretation, but could have been the means used by the author to express his message.⁸⁷ Yet on the whole, Beale's work has merit in many points. His spotting the Danielic influence upon certain chapters of Revelation, his paying attention to the broad contexts of the Old and New passages in question, his discerning the parallelism of patterns between the two texts and using them to support the case of

⁸⁴ Ibid., 272-275.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 275-83.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 283-85.

⁸⁷ See A. Y. Collins' review on this book which can be found in *JBL* 105 (1986), 734-35.

allusion, and his observing the way by which the various texts are merged , i.e., via common theme or key-word, are examples of this. His findings, to be sure, have enhanced our understanding of the way by which the author of Revelation used his OT sources.

J. M. Vogelgesang (1985)

Prompted by D. Georgi's hypothesis that Revelation is an "anti-apocalyptic book,"⁸⁸ J. M. Vogelgesang focused his Ph. D. dissertation on *The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Book of Revelation*.⁸⁹ By this work, Vogelgesang intended to show that in terms of hermeneutic, the author of Revelation, among apocalyptic writers, is unique. For, when citing Ezekiel, John has employed interpretative principles which are different from the authors of the Jewish apocalyptic writings who also made use of the same OT source.⁹⁰

Vogelgesang began his work with the investigation of the relationship between Ezekiel and Revelation.⁹¹ By three criteria, i.e., patterns of thought, motifs and verbal similarities, eight cases are firstly examined.⁹² On these eight case studies, Vogelgesang concluded,

We have seen throughout the Book of Revelation remarkable similarity with the Book of Ezekiel, to such an extent that it proves beyond any doubt that John utilized Ezekiel directly. The cumulative correspondences scattered throughout the book from a wide variety of Ezekielian passages is decisive. The concentrated clusters of Ezekielian material in such passage as Rev 4; 5; 10; 18; and 21-22 provide overwhelming evidence of direct utilization, particularly since there are no known intervening traditions which even come close in the degree of similarity in most instances.⁹³

⁸⁸ "Die Visionen vom himmlischen Jerusalem in Apk 21 und 22," in *Kirche: Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zur 75*, ed. D. Luhrmann and G. Strecker (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1980), 351-72.

⁸⁹ Harvard University, Cambridge, MA., 1985. For the incitement of Georgi on the author to write this dissertation, see xiii, 2-3, 73.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 1-12.

⁹¹ Chapter 1: Evidence for the dependence of the book of Revelation on Ezekiel; *ibid.*, 13-73.

⁹² These eight cases are, the two scrolls (Ezek 2:8-3:3, 14 in Rev 5:1; 10:2, 8-10), the judgment of the earth (Ezek 5:12, 17; 9:1-5; 10:2; 14:21 in Rev 6-8), the Babylon visions (Ezek 16; 23; 26-28 in Rev 17-18), Gog and Magog (Ezek 38-39 in Rev 19-20), the restoration promises (Ezek 34; 37 in Rev 21:3; 7:13-14; 11:11), temple and city (Ezek 40-48 in Rev 21:9-22:5; 11:1-2; 3:12), the throne vision (Ezek 4 in Rev 1), and the call of the prophet (Ezek 1-3 in Rev 1). For details, see *Ibid.*, 24-53.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 55.

To strengthen this remark, two more observations are brought forward. The first, Vogelgesang noted, is that some of Ezekielian materials have been used, twice, triply or even several times, in Revelation.⁹⁴ "The characteristic of these multiple utilizations is that Ezekielian elements not used in the first utilization of an Ezekielian passage are found in a later such utilization. When all of the building blocks are put together, we often have all of the major elements, including the significant verbal similarities, of a given Ezekielian passage utilized somewhere in Revelation."⁹⁵ The second observation is that "when we consider those passages where the use of Ezekiel is certain and fairly extended, the order of Ezekielian passages used in Revelation approximates the order of Ezekiel itself."⁹⁶ In other words, "over a wide breadth of Ezekielian material utilized in Revelation, the order of Ezekiel and that of Revelation are, for all intents and purposes, the same."⁹⁷

Having established the case that Revelation is directly dependent on Ezekiel, Vogelgesang continued to examine three cases in the rest of his dissertation: Ezekiel 40-48 in Revelation 21-22, Ezekiel 1 in Revelation 4, and Ezekiel 1:28b-3:14 in Revelation 1, 5, and 10. In all these three case studies, the basic procedures are (1) the scrutiny of how a certain Ezekiel passage was used in Revelation, (2) the examination of how the same Ezekiel material was used in other near-contemporary literature, and (3) the comparison of the findings observed in the former two steps.

On the first case (Ezek 40-48 in Rev 21-22),⁹⁸ Vogelgesang concluded: (1) The numerous references John made to Ezekiel 40-48 indicated that Ezekiel's restoration program was the passage behind John's model of the New Jerusalem. (2) Yet the prophet's program has been radically reinterpreted by John, for he has made his New Jerusalem a city without temple and a city accessible, not just to Israel, but to all nations. This rereading, then, made the city a symbol of universal salvation. (3) With regard to the method, condensation is what happened in this case, for the

⁹⁴ Examples of this are, (1) Ezek 1 in Rev 1:12, 15, 17; 4:1-8; 10:1; (2) Ezek 2:8-3:3 in Rev 5:1; 10:1; (3) Ezek 34, 37 in Rev 7:13-14, 17; 14:2; 14:9-11; 16:2; 17:5; 22:4; (4) Ezek 39-39 in Rev 16:13-14; 19:17-21; 20:7-10; and (5) Ezek 40-48 in Rev 3:12-13; 11:1-3; 21:9-22:2; see *ibid.*, 54.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁹⁶ For details, see *ibid.*, 66.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 74-167.

nine-chapter-long source has been abridged into some twenty verses.⁹⁹ (4) Compared to the use of this Ezekielian passage in the intermediate literature,¹⁰⁰ John's usage is distinguished in two points, i.e., his extensive use of his source, and his ability to abridge his source into a unified and simplified work.

As to the second case (Ezek 1 in Rev 4),¹⁰¹ Vogelgesang concluded his investigation with these comments. First, similar to the former case, John's use of Ezekiel 1 in Revelation 4 is also marked by (1) his thorough awareness of his source, (2) his ability to abbreviate his OT *Vorlage*, (3) his consistency in alternating details, and (4) his expertise in combining other materials (Isa 6 and Dan 7, 9-10) with this particular Ezekielian passage. Second, as he has done in the former case, John's reinterpretation of Ezekiel 1 in Revelation 4 is also featured with the characteristic of "democratization." This is seen not only in John's demystification of Ezekiel's ecstatic visionary experience as the common liturgical experience,¹⁰² but also in John's giving Israel and the church a place in the scene of heavenly court.¹⁰³ Third, compared to the merkavah and hekhalot literatures¹⁰⁴ which reflect also the throne vision of Ezekiel 1, Revelation 4 presents itself with two characteristics. (1) In addition to Ezekiel 1, the author of Revelation has also made use of these passages. (2) Yet in about ten instances, John's throne vision differs from the ones found in these literatures. These differences,¹⁰⁵ said Vogelgesang, betray John's intention, i.e., to make his work an anti-apocalyptic book.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ These remarks will be evaluated in the later part of this thesis. For details, see chapter 4 "The New City Jerusalem."

¹⁰⁰ Specifically, 1 *Enoch* 17-36, 90:1-28; *T.Dan* 5:12-13; 11QTemple; *Sib. Or* 4; and some "New Jerusalem" fragments from Qumran. For details, see *The Interpretation*, 138-157.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 168-308.

¹⁰² For Vogelgesang, this is observable in John's combining the phrase "in the spirit" (cf. Rev 1:10; 4:2a; Ezek 1:3b) with the phrase "in the Lord's day" (Rev 1:10). See *ibid.*, 170-71; 185-86.

¹⁰³ The imagery of the twenty-four elders surrounding the throne (Rev 4:4), specifically, is what Vogelgesang spoke of here. See, *ibid.*, 173-75.

¹⁰⁴ About a dozen of passages have been selected and compared with Revelation 4. These passages include 1En 14: 8-25, 39:3-41, 60:1-6, 71; Dan 7:9-10; ApAb; AscenIs; and etc. For details, see *ibid.*, 191ff.

¹⁰⁵ The simplicity of the structure of John's cosmology, the accessibility of John's heavenly court, the status of the seer, and the description of God, to name only a few, are examples of these differences. See *ibid.*, 263-77.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 281ff. Note his words, "Clusters of these minor changes all point in the same direction, i.e., a comprehensive rewriting of the tradition in order to make it anti-esoteric, universally accessible, and understandable to 'all who read the words of the prophecy of this book'" (282).

Finally, on the last case (Ezek 1:28b-3:14 in Rev 1, 5, and 10),¹⁰⁷ Vogelgesang noted: (1) Ezekiel 1:28b-3:14 has been used, multiply, in Revelation 1, 5, and 10. (2) Among the three usages, the one found in Revelation 5 dominates the rest of the two. (3) With the introduction of a new motif to the scene, i.e., sealed scroll (Dan 12), and with the intentional omission of an essential element, i.e., the commission of the prophet (Ezek 3), John's reinterpretation of Ezekiel 1-3 in Revelation 5 is aimed at highlighting the victory of the Lamb, which is already accomplished in his sacrificial death but is waiting to arrive at its consummation at the end of time. (4) This characteristic of John distinguishes him, on the one hand, from all other apocalyptic merkavah writers, i.e., while these writers' eschatologies are always futuristic, John's is "already and not yet," and on the other hand, from the authors of the ancient Near Eastern Combat Myths, particular in the way how the Warrior won his battle. (6) That John has picked up, in Revelation 10, what he has intentionally omitted in his first use of Ezekiel 1-3 in Revelation 5, i.e., the commission of the prophet, exemplifies the way he used his source. This feature of John then requires his readers to read Revelation 10 with Revelation 5. (7) John's use of the same Ezekielian passage in Revelation 1 suggests that the book as a whole is a written prophecy, through which God's message is delivered.

On the use of Ezekiel in Revelation, Vogelgesang's dissertation, to be sure, is the most serious effort which has been made since Vanhoye. He has convincingly made his case, i.e., the direct dependence of Revelation on Ezekiel. His discerning the hermeneutical principle that operates behind John's reinterpretation, i.e., the Christ-event, is worthy of mention and his efforts to compare the way John used Ezekiel with that of other apocalyptic writers is also commendable. Yet at various points, his remarks on the characteristics of John's reinterpretation, such as democratization and condensation, are problematic. As will be shown in chapter four of this thesis, these and other points he made are subject to debate.

J. -P. Ruiz (1989)

Four years after Vogelgesang submitted his dissertation, J. -P. Ruiz published

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 309-94.

his doctoral thesis which focuses also on the use of Ezekiel in Revelation, entitled as *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16,17 - 19,10*.¹⁰⁸ In the first part of this book, Ruiz surveyed, in some length, what has been done in this century on the subject of the use of the OT in Revelation.¹⁰⁹ There, he concluded that although many aspects of the subject in question have been illuminated and clarified, the issue concerning how John's use of the OT has to do with his lavish use of symbols in his book has not been properly treated, and hence, the thesis.

Yet before taking up such a task, Ruiz maintained, there are some preliminary issues to be considered. "The hermeneutics of Revelation,"¹¹⁰ as he called it, is then given in the second part of the book. (1) By observing that the book has lavishly used cultic terminology, liturgical formulae and hymnic-doxological languages, Ruiz suggested that "the author of Revelation has set the liturgy as the primary context within which his text is to be understood."¹¹¹ (2) In what he termed as "the hermeneutical imperatives" found in the book,¹¹² Ruiz held that the readers of the book are asked (a) to receive the book as written prophecy and (b) to reflect, attentively, when this prophecy is read to them in the setting of liturgy. (3) Coupled with these hermeneutical imperatives is the notion of "mystery" (μυστήριον, 1:20; 10:7; 17:5, 7) which is also the clue the author placed in the book for his readers to understand his writing. As clearly shown in Revelation 10:7, Ruiz insisted, the book is "God's plan as it unfolds through the course of history."¹¹³ (4) The above three

¹⁰⁸ The work, published by Peter Lang (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), is a revised version of the author's doctoral thesis submitted to the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 1-180. Besides what we have also reviewed, the works of A. Schlatter (*Das Alte Testament in der johanneischen Apokalypse*. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1912), M. É. Boismard ("L'Apocalypse", ou 'Les Apocalypses' de Saint Jean," *BR* 56 [1949], 507-41), and some others have been included in his survey. The works of Trudinger and Ozanne, reviewed above, however, are not in Ruiz's list. J. Paulien's *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets*, the one that has made a good contribution to the methodological issue, i.e., how to identify allusions, has not been mentioned in Ruiz's survey.

¹¹⁰ *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 181-225.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 187.

¹¹² "Blessings on those who read, hear and keep the prophetic words of this book" (Rev 1:3; 22:7), "curses on those who would alter the prophetic words of this book" (Rev 22:18-19), "let him who has an ear hear what the Spirit says to the churches" (Rev 2:7, 11, 17, 29; 3:6, 13, 22), and John's exhorting his readers to use their wisdom to calculate the number of the Beast (Rev 13:13) are examples of this. For details, see *ibid.*, 190-214.

¹¹³ Ibid., 214.

considerations, then, define how we are to perceive the symbols of the book. (a) Concerning the issue *where*, the church (in general sense) is the privileged place for the interpretation of the symbols of the book. (b) As to the issue *how*, the readers of the book are asked to have an attentive attitude, because (c) *what* they have read is the μυστήριον, "an enigma to be resolved"¹¹⁴ by them as they apply the things they read, i.e., symbols, to the situation in which they live.

Having stated the hermeneutics of Revelation, Ruiz in the third part of the book conducted a detailed exegesis of Revelation 16:17-19:10.¹¹⁵ He found in this passage that the book of Ezekiel has supplied John with two imageries. The first is the prostitution of Judah and her judgment (Ezek 16 and 23). This imagery, originally of God's people, has been reapplied and transformed as Babylon the Great in Revelation 17. The second imagery John borrowed from Ezekiel is the fall of Tyre (ch. 26-27), which has also been reapplied, or even re-actualized,¹¹⁶ in Revelation 18 where the fall of the great harlot Babylon is depicted. While emphasizing the dependence of Revelation on Ezekiel, Ruiz acknowledged at the same time the indebtedness of this particular Revelation passage to other prophetic books. Examples of this include the use of imagery of the beast of Daniel 7 in Revelation 17 and the reusing of the languages from Jeremiah 51 and Isaiah 23 in Revelation 18. What John has done in this Revelation passage, Ruiz concluded, is a transformation of the prophetic language which has created a new matrix for his readers to reinterpret.

To those who are interested in the subject in view here, Ruiz's book certainly is the one to begin with, for he has given his readers a rather well crafted summary of what has been done in the past. His focusing on a certain Revelation passage, analyzing how various OT materials have been brought together, in my view, has set a model for the ones after him. For, by paying attention to this feature of John, the rationale behind John's use of his sources would most easily and comprehensively be comprehended. Ruiz's work, however, has suffered from his giving no treatment on the methodological issue, i.e., how to identify allusions in a given passage.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 220.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 230-516.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 412.

Obviously some sort of criteria are at work in his analyses, yet they have not been explicitly spelled out.¹¹⁷ Though with deficits, Ruiz's book, nonetheless, has enhanced our understanding of Revelation in general and the use of the OT in Revelation 16:17-19:10 in particular.

J. Fekkes (1994)

Thus far we have seen that what Swete and Charles had observed in the beginning of this century, i.e., the indebtedness of Revelation to the prophetic books, has been expounded in the concentrated works of Vanhoye, Beale, Vogelgesang, and Ruiz, which are focused on the relationship of Revelation to either Daniel or Ezekiel. But as to the use of Isaiah in Revelation, no work of this sort has been known until 1994 when J. Fekkes III published his doctoral dissertation, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and their Development*.¹¹⁸

Concentrating on the relation between Isaiah and Revelation, Fekkes delivered his analysis in two parts, "methodological underpinnings" and "John and the prophet Isaiah: allusions and application." In the first part he dealt firstly with John's self-conception.¹¹⁹ By placing him in the context of early Christian prophecy and comparing him with OT prophets, Fekkes insisted that John sees himself in the main as a Jewish-Christian prophet, a long neglected factor which is crucial to our understanding of how he uses the OT. Having stated this Fekkes then considered the methodological issue, i.e., how to determine an allusion in a given passage, and the characteristics of John's use of the OT.¹²⁰ There, he observed that of 150 certain or virtually certain allusions found in the book, about 125 fall naturally into four thematic clusters: (1) Visionary Experience and Language, (2) Christological Titles and Descriptions, (3) Eschatological Judgment, and (4) Eschatological Salvation.

¹¹⁷ Ruiz's understanding of what he called as "hermeneutics of Revelation," at points, is also questionable. This, however, is beyond the limitation of this thesis.

¹¹⁸ Sheffield: Sheffield, 1994. The dissertation, however, was submitted in 1988 to the University of Manchester.

¹¹⁹ Chapter 1: John as Jewish-Christian Prophet, see *ibid.*, 22-58.

¹²⁰ Chapter 2: John and the Influence of the OT, *ibid.*, 59-103. Since we will consider the methodological issue later in this present chapter, Fekkes suggestion will not be discussed here.

This observation then led him to the following two conclusions. First, "in the majority of cases the correspondence between an OT text and its application in Revelation goes beyond similarities in language and imagery, and extends also to the setting and purpose of the original biblical passage."¹²¹ Second, John's thematic use of Scripture "suggests that his method transcends special authors and particular books."¹²² "It misses the point to ask," Fekkes continued, "whether the book of Daniel, Ezekiel or Isaiah is more important to John. For it is not the book or author which dictates his choice of passages, but the topic."¹²³

As he set out to do, Fekkes in the second part of the book investigated the use of Isaiah in Revelation.¹²⁴ The goal of these investigations is firstly to determine the validity of each proposed allusion, and secondly to explore the application and interpretation of each confirmed allusion.¹²⁵ To reach this end, Fekkes used linguistic, thematic, and sometimes theological-contextual correspondences as criteria to evaluate alleged allusions before he reached his own judgment. After examining some 73 cases, he arrived at the following conclusions.¹²⁶

First, of the 73 alleged allusions, 41 are judged as "certain or virtually certain," 9 as "probable or possible," and the rest of 23 as "doubtful." Second, of the 41 certain allusions, 38 fall into one of the four thematic clusters mentioned earlier. On this phenomenon, Fekkes maintained, "not only does it appear that these Isaiah texts are consciously *selected* according to subject, but they are also *applied* according to subject."¹²⁷

Third, with regards to the exegetical and literary techniques, John's use of Isaiah is featured with these characteristics: (1) repetition of OT texts, (2) combination of two or more texts by analogy, (3) exploitation of Hebrew parallelism for Christological purpose, (4) bridging two passages together by means of a third which shares common elements, (5) clarification and augmentation of an obscure text

¹²¹ Ibid., 102.

¹²² *Idem.*

¹²³ Ibid., 103.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 105-290.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 103.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 279-290.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 282.

by means of a more developed parallel text, (6) interpretative handling of ambiguous Hebrew roots (etymologization), and (7) extending the scope of a passage by subtle additions.¹²⁸ The implication of these characteristics is that, while following certain Jewish hermeneutical traditions,¹²⁹ John has a unique Christian perspective, i.e., Christology, which is to be distinguished from his exegetical praxis. What we have seen in this book, Fekkes concluded, is that John as a prophet did interpret the OT texts when he used them, and when he did so, he has paid respect to the contexts of his source.

Fekkes' work is welcome because it has filled a long neglected lacuna in the study of Revelation. His paying attention to John's prophetic consciousness, his remark on John's thematic use of the OT, his detailed analyses on the use of Isaiah in Revelation, and his observations on John's characteristics in using OT materials are all insightful. Yet his assertion that it is theme, instead of certain OT books or authors, that determined John's use of the OT is not totally correct. In general, this assertion is true, but as Vogelgesang and Ruiz have noted,¹³⁰ and as will be made clear in this thesis, the book of Ezekiel does play a more important role than Isaiah in the way that John arranged and constructed his book.¹³¹

S. Moyise (1995)

The last work to be surveyed in this part of the thesis is S. Moyise's *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*.¹³² Unlike the concentrated works reviewed above, this book is intended to give a general picture, with a concern to apply the literary concept of intertextuality to the study of John's use of OT.¹³³ In addition to

¹²⁸ For examples of these, see *ibid.*, 283-84.

¹²⁹ Here Fekkes referred to the correspondence of points 2 and 5 to, in turn, the rules of the inference from analogy and the deduction from another passage, exemplified in later Rabbinic rules of interpretation (*middôt*); see *ibid.*, 285.

¹³⁰ The contributions of these two scholars, unfortunately, has not been noted by Fekkes.

¹³¹ It is interesting to note that in dealing with the use of the theme Zion of Isaiah in Revelation 17-22, San-Jarn T. Wu (*A Literary Study of Isaiah 63-65 and Its Echo in Revelation 17-22*. Ph. D. diss., Trinity International University, 1995) also noted, "I will argue, however, that John could cite one OT book as a primary source to support his theme in Revelation *if that OT book offers the compatible theology that no other source pertains*" (229). For detailed analyses of the use of Isaiah 63-65 in Revelation 17-22, see 183-286.

¹³² Sheffield: Sheffield, 1995. The book is a revised version of the author's doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Birmingham (1994). The dissertation contains a chapter which is not included in the published book, titled as "The language of John's allusions."

the introduction and epilogue, the book is composed of five main chapters, which in turn focus on the use of Scripture in Revelation 1-3, John's use of Daniel, John's use of Ezekiel, the use of Scripture at Qumran, and Revelation and intertextuality.

On John's use of the OT in Revelation 1-3,¹³⁴ Moyise argued that since the descriptions of the Son of Man (Rev 1:13-16) are based on Dan 10:5-6 and since the titles attributed to the one who speaks to the seven churches (Rev 2:1, 8, 12, 18; 3:1, 7, 14) are mainly based on those descriptions, John's attribution of a specific title to Jesus when he speaks to a certain church is determined not by the geographical or historical situation of that certain church,¹³⁵ but by his Scripture sources. The local situation, e.g., the metal industry of Thyatira, surely invites John to speak of Jesus as the one "who has eyes like a flame of fire, and whose feet are like burnished bronze" (cf. Rev 2:18; Dan 10:6) when he addressed the church at Thyatira, but it is his source that provides such a description. Scriptural allusions, not local allusions, hence, are what John intended to do.

As to the use of Daniel in Revelation,¹³⁶ Moyise, after examining four cases,¹³⁷ noted that John's techniques in using of Daniel are as follow: (1) models of composition,¹³⁸ (2) use of imagery and languages,¹³⁹ (3) interweaving texts, (4) use of Daniel 2:28-29 as structure maker, and (5) heightened eschatological outlook. These features, Moyise insisted, "suggest a dialectical relationship between the text of Daniel and John's situation,"¹⁴⁰ for they reveal that John has a standpoint outside of Daniel. Accordingly, Beale's view, i.e., Revelation is to be conceived ultimately within the framework of Daniel 2, is one-sided, because it did not "do justice to the other side of the interaction, namely, that Revelation is a fresh composition which has used Daniel as *one* of its significant sources."¹⁴¹

¹³³ Ibid., 18-20.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 24-44.

¹³⁵ This is the claim of W. M. Ramsay (*The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia and their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904]), against which Moyise is arguing.

¹³⁶ *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*, 45-63.

¹³⁷ They are, John's use of Daniel 2-4, 7, 10 and 12, and 5:23 and 8:10. For details, see *ibid.*, 46-56.

¹³⁸ I.e., "John appears to have modeled a number of his vision descriptions on various episodes in Daniel" (*Ibid.*, 56).

¹³⁹ I.e., "John draws on the language of Daniel to enhance the effect of his composition" (*Ibid.*, 57).

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 63.

On Ezekiel in Revelation,¹⁴² Moyise noted that the major sections of Revelation correspond, both in theme and in the order they appear in both books, to the major sections of Ezekiel. That is,¹⁴³

Rev. 4	Throne creatures/eyes/bow/crystal	Ezek. 1
Rev. 7-8	Marking/scattering of fire	Ezek. 9-10
Rev. 17	Punishment of the Harlot city	Ezek. 16, 23
Rev. 18	Lament over fallen city, trading list	Ezek. 26-27
Rev. 20-22	Revival, reign, battle, new Jerusalem	Ezek. 37-48

On this phenomenon, Moyise proposed that "it looks as though Ezekiel rather than Daniel has had the greatest influence on the structure of John's book,"¹⁴⁴ and the most obvious explanation for this is that "John has taken on the 'persona' of Ezekiel."¹⁴⁵ Remarkable as this may be, Moyise continued, there are also significant differences between Revelation and Ezekiel. Facing both similarities and differences, the reader is then asked to wrestle with the tension created by these two factors. In a word, "John's use of Ezekiel involves the reader in a hermeneutical challenge,"¹⁴⁶ for by bonding the two works together, the author has created a complex set of interactions.

After scrutinizing the use of Daniel and Ezekiel in Revelation, Moyise turned to the matter of the use of scripture at Qumran.¹⁴⁷ Eight texts¹⁴⁸ were chosen and analyzed before he summarized that the exegetical techniques of these Qumranic interpreters are as follow: (1) Identifications (e.g., the star is the interpreter of the law; CD 7:14-21), (2) Catchwords (i.e., the means that links one text to the other), (3) Abbreviation, (4) Applying attributes to a new subject, (5) Correcting one text by means of another, and (6) Interpretative handling of Hebrew roots. On this, Moyise concluded that many of these techniques do parallel with John's and that "the task of exploring how texts interact with their subtexts is as important for the Qumran literature as it is for the book of Revelation."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴² Ibid., 64-84.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 74.

¹⁴⁴ *Idem.*

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 78; see also page 79 where Moyise said that "he [John] has taken on the mind of Ezekiel and writes 'in the spirit' (ἐν πνεύματι)."

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 83.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 85-107.

¹⁴⁸ For the references of these eight passages, see *ibid.*, 85-106.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 107.

In the last chapter of his book, Moyise concentrated on the issue of Revelation and Intertextuality.¹⁵⁰ There, he argued, with examples, that since John has embedded his sources in a new context and since he in many occasions gave no resolution to what he has done, his reader is therefore asked to play an active role when he/she reads the book. He is to pay attention to how John interacted with his sources, i.e., to pay attention to the elements of both continuity and discontinuity, yet at the same time, to assign meaning to the text he reads in interaction with other texts he knows. This reader-oriented approach, Moyise maintained, is broader than the conventional source criticism, for while the aim of the source criticism is to find a fixed meaning for the text, the goal of the reader-oriented approach is to explore the possibilities of interpretation.

Compared to Ruiz who already explored the issue of Revelation and intertextuality, Moyise is more conscious of the implication of this literary concept for the study of John's use of the OT. His book demonstrates how Revelation is to be read when one approaches it with reader-response criticism. The author's effort to incorporate the findings of earlier scholars into his argument (except Fekkes' Isaiah in Revelation) and his paying attention to the use of the OT in Revelation 1-3 are worthy of note. But as to the use of the OT in Qumran, it does not seem to fit well into the main thrust of the book.¹⁵¹

Summary

Several things can be summarized from the above survey. First, concerning John's understanding of the OT, most scholars mentioned above have noted that John possessed a profound knowledge of the OT. This is seen not only in that his allusions cover almost all the OT books, but also in the way he used his sources, i.e., combining various texts from different OT books which are thematically related. In other words, John's thorough familiarity with the OT is what the works surveyed above have attested.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 108-38.

¹⁵¹ The chapter relates in the main how the Qumran interpreters used the OT, rather than the comparison of Qumran with Revelation.

Second, concerning the way of reference, John used no introductory formula of any sort. His way of referencing is what we today called allusion. The allusions John made to the OT, however, are not of the same kind. As noted by most of the scholars named above, some are more readily discernible, while others are less obvious. This phenomenon then calls for the development of an objective method, a method that would, to some reasonable degree, assure the investigator that the allusions he recognized are intentionally made by the author. The importance of this issue needs no further emphasis and warrants a more detailed treatment, so it will be taken up in a separate section at the end of this chapter.

Third, in addition to what we already noted, i.e., selection of texts from different part of the OT according to thematic analogue, John's techniques in using the OT involve also (1) condensation, i.e., abridging his source, (2) multiplication, i.e., using a source twice, triply, or even more than three times in various places of his book, (3) reapplication, i.e., reapplying what was of God to Christ or what was of Israel to the church, and (4) repetition, i.e., repeatedly using the main theme or phrases of a source in a given passage so as to create an impression of unity.

Fourth, although Beale has argued for the structural significance of Daniel on Revelation and although Fekkes has proposed that John's use of the OT was mainly determined not by books or authors of the OT but by theme, the findings of Vanhoye, Vogelgesang, Ruiz, and Moyise strongly suggest that the book of Ezekiel does enjoy a particular status in John's using of the OT. This is particularly true when the following two points are considered. i.e., the amount of the materials shared by the two books and the same order that these materials appear in both books.

Fifth, as to the issue concerning the text form of John's allusion, Trudinger and Ozanne's studies¹⁵² have confirmed Charles's observation, i.e., except in the case of Daniel, John's allusions to the OT are largely based on a Hebrew text similar to the one preserved in the MT. This assertion, as Trudinger rightly reminded, is not to be pressed too far, for we are in fact facing so many "unknowns."¹⁵³ "The lack of extant texts of important witnesses to varied O.T. text traditions,"¹⁵⁴ and the uncertainty

¹⁵² So also are the works of Vanhoye ("L'utilisation," 443-61) and of Fekkes (*Isaiah and Prophetic Tradition*, 16-17) within the scopes of Ezekiel and Isaiah respectively.

¹⁵³ *The Text*, 148-50.

arising "from the fact that it is not possible to be sure what Hebrew or Aramaic words are represented by a phrase in a translation into Greek,"¹⁵⁵ are given examples of this.

The Purpose, Scope and Premise of This Thesis

Concerning John's use of the OT, the above brief survey has pictured for us, hopefully, what has been done in the past some one hundred years. Yet the survey at the same time has revealed what is needed to be done in the future. An in depth study of the use of Psalms in Revelation or a focused investigation of the use of Jeremiah in Revelation, for example, are the works waiting to be done. The comparison of John's use of the OT with the Qumran writers' way of using OT is another area waiting to be developed.

However, these tasks, though looking promising, will not be taken up in this thesis. Instead of going on to these promising venues, this thesis will focus, once again, on Ezekiel in Revelation. Yet unlike the works surveyed above, such as that of Vanhoye, Vogelgesang, and Ruiz, which are all focused mainly on the literary relationship between Revelation and Ezekiel, the attention of this thesis will be given to the hermeneutical analogue between the two authors. In other words, what I intend to show in this thesis is the parallelism between John's way of using Ezekiel and Ezekiel's way of using the ancient traditions, particular those that are found in the Pentateuch and in the Prophets before him.¹⁵⁶

Surely the limitation of this thesis will not allow me to investigate all possible cases which could illuminate this certain aspect between the two authors. So, in the following I will confine myself to four case studies, which will be delivered respectively in the second to fifth chapters of this thesis. Each of these four case

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 149.

¹⁵⁵ *Idem.*

¹⁵⁶ The thrust that prompts me to do this is very simple. As I spent more time on the prophet Ezekiel and his book, I learned that one of the main features of this prophet is his lavish use of earlier OT materials. This recognition, in conjunction with what has been widely known, i.e., the book of Revelation is saturated with the imageries and languages from the OT, has made me wonder if there exists any analogue between Ezekiel and John, particularly in the way they used their sources.

studies is constituted with the same components. The first is an examination of how a certain OT tradition has been used in Ezekiel.¹⁵⁷ Next to this is an investigation of how a given Ezekielian passage has been employed in Revelation.¹⁵⁸ When these are done, a comparison is then called for, intending to see whether or not these two usages parallel with each other, and if they do, how they compare to the other. Each of these case studies will then be ended with the third component, i.e., the implication of what we have learned in the former two steps for the understanding of Revelation.

Specifically, in chapter two below I will compare Ezekiel's use of Eden tradition in Ezekiel 28:11-19 with John's use of Ezekiel 26-28 in Revelation 18. The implication of this case study will be focused on two related issues: who is the great harlot Babylon and why is she condemned? In chapter three I will compare Ezekiel's use of the foe-from-the-north tradition in Ezekiel 38-39 with John's use of Ezekiel 38-39 in Revelation 19-20. The focus of the implication of this case study will be on the perennial problem of the Millennium. In chapter four, then, I will examine the analogue between Ezekiel's use of the model of battle camp (Num 2-3) in Ezekiel 48:30-35 and John's use of Ezekiel 40-48 in Revelation 21. When this is done, the question, what is the bearing of this case study on our understanding of the new city Jerusalem, will then come into view. And finally, in chapter five I will explore the relationship between Ezekiel's use of Eden tradition in Ezekiel 47:1-12 and John's use of Ezekiel 47:1-12 in Revelation 22, with a concern to see what light this case will shed on our understanding of the imagery of the River of life (Rev 22:1-2).

Whoever engages in a task of analyzing how an OT tradition has been used and developed in an another OT book, is likely, in most of the instances, to face the problem of dating, i.e., which text comes first and which is the second. Yet this problem will receive no treatment in this thesis when we deal with the use of the OT in Ezekiel, because the concern of the thesis is how John, a first century Jewish Christian, would read his OT, not how a twenty century critic would read the OT. The passages from Genesis, Numbers, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Habakkuk, which are

¹⁵⁷ Henceforth, this will be termed as "Old-in-Old" case study.

¹⁵⁸ Henceforth, this will be termed as "Old-in-New" case study.

involved in this thesis, are therefore presumed to be taken by John as texts prior in time to the book of Ezekiel.

Allusion: A Methodological Consideration

One of the characteristics of John's use of the OT, as noted earlier, is his use of allusions as the way to refer his readers to the sources he employed in his writing. John's using of this literary device, hence, requires his readers to read his book with the sources he referred to. In other words, the understanding of his book is determined, to some extent at least, by the references he made. Yet as we also already noted, the allusions John placed in the book are not of the same kind. Some of them are relatively easy to recognize, while others are difficult. Thus, to identify an intended allusion in a given passage is the task to be taken up by the interpreter before he can continue to do his work.

But unfortunately, the history of interpretation of Revelation shows that this was not the case. Many scholars have long before recognized the importance of this literary device to the understanding of the book and tried to trace every possible source or tradition alluded to by the author, but not much effort has been made to develop a more systematic method for identifying of allusions. This phenomenon is well illustrated in the following table given by Fekkes.¹⁵⁹

Some scholars' proposals on the number of allusions in Revelation

Charles	Swete	Tenney	Marty	Gelin	UBSGNT ²	Staehelin
250	278	348	453	518	634	700

On this table, Fekkes commented, "a differential of 50 or perhaps even 100 suggested allusions between scholars is not unreasonable to expect in a book such as Revelation, but one of 450 (250 versus 700) is unacceptable."¹⁶⁰ This phenomenon then indicates that each individual scholar had his own way to determine allusions.

¹⁵⁹ *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 62.

¹⁶⁰ *Idem.*

A similar picture is also observed by J. Paulien as he examined the use of the OT in the seven trumpets passages of Revelation (8:7-9:21; 11:15-18).¹⁶¹

Some scholars' proposals on the number of allusions in Rev. 8:7-9:21; 11:15-18

Charles	Dittmar	Msb Ford	Hühn	Kraft	Mounce	Nestle	Prigent	UBS	Westcott
79	25	109	102	51	54	71	74	38	41

On this phenomenon, he commented, "either the commentators are using different criteria for what constitutes an allusion to the Old Testament in Revelation, or at least some of them are following no set criteria at all."¹⁶² In view of this, the warning of S. Sandmel about the danger of "parallelomania" is insightful, a danger defined by him as the "extravagance among scholars which first overdoes the supposed similarity in passages and then proceeds to describe source and derivation as if implying literary connection flowing in an inevitable or predetermined direction."¹⁶³

The need to develop a more objective method for determining allusion, fortunately, has been noticed and partially met in the past few decades. In the following we will then review, briefly, what have been proposed. The proposals reviewed below, however, will include the views of the scholars who worked both inside and outside of the field of Revelation. The reason for this is very simple, i.e., although the author of Revelation is featured with his heavy, if not exclusive, use of allusion as the way of reference, other writers were not unfamiliar with this literary craft. Thus those who laboured outside of the case of Revelation were also wrestling with the same issue. The results of their efforts, hence, will be helpful and are needed to be consulted. In short, the case of Revelation surely has its own peculiarity, but in the end, the issue involved is essentially the same one as encountered in other cases.

M. C. Tenney (1957)

On the issue in view here, M. C. Tenney stated that by ways of "verbal resemblance" and of "contextual connection" to the Hebrew canon, one can

¹⁶¹ *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets*, 125.
¹⁶² *Idem.*
¹⁶³ "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962), 1-13; see page 1 for quotation.

determine 348 allusions from the book of Revelation. "Of these approximately 95 are repeated," thus we have about 250 allusions in the book.¹⁶⁴ Two kinds of allusion, therefore, are implied in his statement. The first is those that are based on the similarity of a few words, and the second is those that can be identified by comparing the contexts of both passages. His proposal, on the one hand, is valuable because it has provided the two basic principles for determining allusions, but on the other hand, it is unfortunately far too simple.¹⁶⁵

W. K. Hedrick (1970)

In addressing the issue, *The Source and Use of the Imagery in Apocalypse 12*, W. K. Hedrick maintained that there are three sorts of dependence between Revelation and the sources it used.¹⁶⁶ The first is to be discerned by "the use of the same language or a high degree of similarity between the concepts or figures used in both source and borrower."¹⁶⁷ The second is the case in which an OT passage or complex provides more than one motif or phrase for an NT text. And the third kind of dependence is mainly non-literary in nature, i.e., "there is no indication that the supposed borrower was dependent on or intended to refer the reader to the OT texts."¹⁶⁸ This sort of usage occurred in the places where the employed images or concepts (e.g., the dragon and Michael) are well known to both the author and his readers.

Besides these considerations, Hedrick also held that in dealing with dependence, the intention of the author must be understood. "If there is no reason why a source might have been used, then the argument for its usage is very weak."¹⁶⁹ This consideration is especially useful when one is to make a decision between two sources which are equally available to the borrower.

¹⁶⁴ *Interpreting Revelation*, 101.

¹⁶⁵ Similar to Tenney's proposal is Trudinger's (*The Text*, 37-41), whose criteria for determining quotations and allusions are in turn (1) a sequence of OT words repeated in Revelation, and (2) verbal or contextual affinity.

¹⁶⁶ Ph. D. diss. (Graduate Theological Union, 1970), 16-18.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 17. On the "high degree of similarity," Hedrick suggested, it must be left "undefined and work it out in particular cases."

¹⁶⁸ *Idem.*

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

Though with different terms, Hedrick's observations, in the main, are similar to Tenney's except that he also paid attention to those non-literary usages, the usages which would probably better be termed as echoes. As to his stressing the importance of the author's intention, we must give credit to him, for his treatment covers not only the issue *how*, but also the issue *why*.

G. K. Beale (1984)

In his book reviewed above, Beale classified the degree of dependence between two literary works in three categories: clear allusion, probable allusion, and possible allusion or echo. The first category includes the cases where the word order of the Apocalypse is "almost in the same form as the O.T. text and usually has the same general meaning, although this second element may be absent."¹⁷⁰ The second category is composed of the cases where either the wording of the text in view "is not as close to that of the O.T. text but still having links with it," or "the presence of an idea uniquely traceable to that text." And the third category, i.e., possible allusion or echo, contains the cases where the parallel of wording or thought between the two books examined is "of a more general nature than in the other categories." The criteria used by Beale to classify allusions, as he concluded, are "the similarities of (1) theme, (2) content, (3) specific constructions of words, and (4) structure."¹⁷¹ Besides these criteria, three other elements which will affect the validity of an alleged allusion are also mentioned by Beale. The first is that if the reference "can be seen to be part of the thought structure of the particular O.T. context," the degree of dependence is increased.¹⁷² The second is that "if the same kind of reference appears among a cluster of other clearer allusions to the O.T. context in question, then the degree of probability also increases."¹⁷³ And the third is that if one can give "a convincing motive for the author to have composed his work in the manner claimed,"¹⁷⁴ then the degree of reliance is also enhanced.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ *The Use*, 43, no. 62.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 308.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 43, no. 62. Cf. also, 307.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 307.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 308.

¹⁷⁵ To Beale, John's motivation in referring to Daniel is due to his belief that he was living "either

Compared to Tenney and Hedrick's suggestions, Beale's is more subtle. He has rightly maintained that a case for allusions should not be assessed by only one point of connection, but is to be built upon "the aggregate of evidence."¹⁷⁶ This kind of accumulative force will on the one hand solidify the alleged case and on the other hand prevent the investigator falling into the pit of "parallelomania," the danger noticed earlier. The three elements Beale mentioned are especially of value, for they show the complexity of the issue under discussion. Beale, however, should have laid out his methodology in a more systematic way and placed it in the beginning of his book as part of the introduction.¹⁷⁷

J. M. Vogelgesang (1985)

With a concern to attest the hypothesis that Revelation is directly dependent on Ezekiel, Vogelgesang proposed five criteria.¹⁷⁸ (1) An evaluation of selected instances where John not only uses an Ezekielian motif, but seems to enter into the perspective of Ezekiel. (2) An enumeration of other motifs in Revelation which are also Ezekielian and which are not found in the same form in other OT literature. (3) Whether or not the amount of the verbal similarities between the two books is large enough to be explained only by positing a literary dependence of Revelation on Ezekiel. (4) If the disputed details of exegesis in passage with Ezekielian motifs can be neatly solved by appealing to literary dependence, the validity of the case is increased. (5) Whether or not the order of Ezekielian materials used in Revelation approximates the order of Ezekiel itself.

Vogelgesang's criteria, to be sure, fit well with what they are aimed to achieve, i.e., to attest the direct dependence of Revelation on Ezekiel. As a result, then, some of the criteria (e.g., point 5 above) are not suitable for other cases, for not all OT books that have also been used in Revelation possess a status as special as

immediately before or in the end times predicted by Daniel." And this belief resulted in John's seeing himself as a "latter-day Daniel figure," who had "been divinely commissioned to give the inspired interpretations and applications of the Daniel prophecies." See, *ibid.*, 308.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 308-9.

¹⁷⁷ The importance of the methodology for allusion, for example, should merit a place in the body of the text, not in a footnote. See, *ibid.*, 43.

¹⁷⁸ *The Interpretation*, 15-16.

Ezekiel does. Yet other criteria, such as point one, point two and point three, are helpful in determining whether there is an intended allusion in a certain passage or not.

M. Fishbane (1985)

Aimed to show the phenomenon of interpretation found within the Hebrew Bible, or "inner-biblical exegesis" as the author called it, M. Fishbane addressed also the issue with which we are dealing.¹⁷⁹ Basic to Fishbane's theory is the notion that the Hebrew Scripture is a record of a long history in which the traditions were reinterpreted, adopted, or transmuted. Thus, within the text itself there are two basic factors that result in the existence of the OT, i.e., *traditum* (i.e., the content of traditions), and *traditio* (i.e., the process of transmitting the *traditum*).¹⁸⁰ In order to comprehend the exegesis of these ancient writers, the investigator is therefore required to isolate the *traditum* from the text before he may continue to analyze how that *traditum* has been reinterpreted.¹⁸¹

But due to the fact that there are different sorts of exegeses found within the Hebrew Scripture, which Fishbane categorized as scribal comments and corrections,¹⁸² legal exegesis,¹⁸³ aggadic exegesis,¹⁸⁴ and mantological exegesis,¹⁸⁵ different sets of criteria are to be used in different cases. It would be valuable to

¹⁷⁹ *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*. Reprinted with Corrections (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 6. These two technical terms, *traditum* and *traditio*, are borrowed from D. Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975), 5; where the terms are used in the study of oral traditions.

¹⁸¹ Or in his own words, "How each particular *traditum* can validly be distinguished from its *traditio* - that is, the received text from the comments, clarifications, and revisions thereof - is thus the pressing and central concern of any critical study of this phenomenon" (*Ibid.*, 10-11).

¹⁸² This constitutes the first section of Fishbane's book, which deals with the role of the scribes in the transmission of the OT texts and the kinds of exegetical activities they made while copying written texts. For details, see *ibid.*, 22-88.

¹⁸³ This constitutes the second section of the book. All the cases presented there involve a sort of reinterpretation, supplementation, amendment, re-application, or clarification of former written laws, regulations or commandments. See *ibid.*, 89-277 for details.

¹⁸⁴ The third section of the book (*Ibid.*, 278-440), aggadic exegesis as the author called it, is a miscellaneous category which includes "moral and theological homilies, didactic expositions of historical and folk motifs, expositions and reinterpretations of ethical dicta and religious *theologoumena*, and much more" (*Ibid.*, 281).

¹⁸⁵ This constitutes the fourth section of the book, which is composed of those exegetical studies found within the OT on the subject that is ominous or oracular in scope and content. For details, see *ibid.*, 441-524.

review all these sets of criteria, but due to the reason that our four OT case studies, in the main, fall into the category of aggadic exegesis,¹⁸⁶ we here will pay attention only to the set of criteria he suggested for this particular sort of exegesis.

On how to isolate the *tradtum* from a given text in the case of aggadic exegesis, Fishbane states that this task, aside from those rare cases in which *tradtum* is clearly separated from its *traditio* by introductory citation formulae, is not an easy one. For the *tradtum* is often taken over by the aggadic tradents (or rhetors) through various ways, such as the recombination of earlier words, ideas or themes, or the transformations of it. In principle, he says, "a controlled comparison of biblical sources is the methodological ideal."¹⁸⁷ Thus,

where such a text (the putative *traditio*) is dominated by these dicta or topoi (the putative *tradtum*), and uses them in new and transformed ways, the likelihood of aggadic exegesis is strong. In other words, the identification of aggadic exegesis where external objective criteria are lacking is proportionally increased to the extent that multiple and sustained lexical linkages between two texts can be recognized, and where the second text (the putative *traditio*) uses a segment of the first (the putative *tradtum*) in a lexically reorganized and topically rethematized way.¹⁸⁸

However, cautions are needed in practice, Fishbane stressed, because the history of biblical interpretation clearly shows that many have fallen into one of the following pitfalls. The first is to build a case upon vague evidence. This means that though one may find textual or lexical linkages between two (or more) texts, those linkages are too weak to erect a case. In a word, not all textual references justify seeing the texts in question as intertextually related. The second is to oversimplify the situation. For "there are instances where apparent verbal echoes of early texts in late sources

¹⁸⁶ The only exceptional case is the use of the foe-from-the-north tradition in Ezekiel 38-39 which is to be dealt with in chapter three of this thesis. According to Fishbane's classification, this case belongs to the category of mantological exegesis. On this particular sort of exegesis, Fishbane's method is as followed.

The "interpretative and explicative traditions will be isolated on the basis of (1) introductory or deictic technical phrases; (2) comparison of inner-biblical repetitions and variations, or comparisons of the MT *tradtum* with variants in the LXX and other versions; and (3) inner-stylistic criteria which provide analytical grounds for assuming that a given oracular *tradtum* has been supplemented in one way or another" (Ibid., 459-60).

Obviously this set of criteria is essentially similar to the one he proposed for the case of aggadic exegesis (see below), thus we will here review the method he suggested for the aggadic exegesis only.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 287.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 285.

may not constitute a *traditum-traditio* dynamic but rather point to a shared stream of linguistic tradition."¹⁸⁹ In other words, verbal similarities do not necessarily guarantee a case for aggadic exegesis, but may have resulted from the possibility that they are taken from a common *Wortfeld* shared by different tradents. Besides, verbal similarities, as in the case of the relationship of Trito-Isaiah to Deutero-Isaiah, may be due to the reason that both text tradents came from the same school, and shared a common pool of phraseology.¹⁹⁰ These pitfalls, accordingly, serve as warnings to the researcher that he needs to conduct his endeavors in a cautious manner.

Having pinpointed these pitfalls and before turning to case studies, Fishbane summarizes the methodological considerations for aggadic exegesis as follows:

1. The easiest and most explicit means of recognizing aggadic exegesis is where it is formally indicated through technical formulae. By means of explicit citations or text referrals the *traditum* is set off from the *traditio* which reapplies or reinterprets it.
2. Aggadic exegesis may also be noted and isolated by comparing parallel texts *within* the MT, or *between* the MT and its principal versions.
3. A third means of isolating aggadic exegesis depends on a more subjective text-critical judgment. In these cases a *traditum* is incorporated into a *traditio* - which transforms it or re-employs it. Of particular aid and importance in this judgment is the dense occurrence in one text of terms, often thoroughly reorganized and transposed, found elsewhere in a natural, uncomplicated form. This is not an absolute requirement, though it is a heuristic - even essential - methodological guideline.¹⁹¹

Though labouring in the field of the OT and thought using different terminology, the method proposed by Fishbane is fundamentally similar to the ones posed by those who worked in the case of Revelation. The elements of lexical linkage and thematic connection have been noted. The factor concerning the density of similar terms found between two texts has been considered. And interestingly, a warning about the complexity of the matter has also been issued, asking the researcher to approach the issue with caution.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 288.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 289.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 291.

¹⁹² For more cases on the use of the OT in the OT, see also *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. D. N. Fewell (Louisville: Westminster Press, 1992).

J. Paulien (1987)

To this day, the most elaborate method for identifying allusions, as far as I know, is the one posed by J. Paulien.¹⁹³ In his doctoral dissertation, he first reviewed what has been done in the past,¹⁹⁴ then offered his own suggestion.¹⁹⁵ He followed the view of some forerunners in classifying allusions into two groups: direct allusion and echo. To him, the direct allusions are those intended references, which are used by the author as means to point the readers to a previous work, "expanding the reader's horizons."¹⁹⁶ Echoes, on the other hand, occurred when an idea is picked up from an early literature by the author without having the source material in mind. Hence, these references "do not depend on the author's conscious intention."¹⁹⁷

To acknowledge that there are two kinds of references used by John, Paulien maintained, is critical because they call for different ways of interpretation. He argued that in the case of echo, it is necessary for the interpreters to locate the source(s), but such an itinerary only indicates the originality of the concept (or imagery) employed. The insight gained from the source(s) is not to be used as a basis for interpretation. For the "living symbol" has been divorced from its original context and gained a fairly fixed meaning in the days when the book is written. The thing that matters is not the original meaning of the idea, but what it means in NT times. In the case of Revelation, therefore, the thing that matters is what a given concept means in apocalyptic circles.

Direct allusions, on the other hand, are those references intentionally made by the author. To find out the sources of a given passage, hence, becomes the key to understand the meaning of that passage. But such a task, Paulien maintained, is not a simple one. It requires the investigator to evaluate the weight of external and internal evidences. To evaluate the weight of external evidence, for Paulien, is to analyze the "author's relationship to his literary roots as drawn from historical, biographical, demographic, and other sources outside a given text."¹⁹⁸ In particular, such

¹⁹³ *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets*, 165-94.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 106-118.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 165-194.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 171.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 172.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 178.

investigation is to be done by asking oneself the following questions. "Did he (the author) read the book from which a parallel comes? Was it in his library? Are there annotations in his own hand? Does he allude in other works to books he has read? Was his supposed source something that was typically read in the schools of the time? If there is no direct evidence of the above, one can ask if the book was generally available at the time an author wrote."¹⁹⁹

The analysis of the internal evidence,²⁰⁰ on the other hand, means the estimating of the relationship of the text itself to its potential sources. This task is to be carried out by examining the verbal, thematic and structural parallels between the two texts. Verbal parallels stand "whenever at least two words of more than minor significance (articles and minor conjunctions are excluded) are parallel between a passage in Revelation and a passage in the Septuagint or other first-century Greek version."²⁰¹ These two key words may either be associated together in a phrase or be separated as long as they are clearly related between the two texts.

In addition to verbal connections, Paulien proposed, one is to look for thematic parallels as well. In this case verbal connections are not necessarily to be found, for the connection of this sort is built upon the parallel of thought, which can be discerned by comparing the contexts of the two texts in question. As a result, the scope of comparison should not be limited to the Apocalypse and the LXX, but should include the Hebrew and Aramaic OT. In some cases, Paulien said, one does find a single-word parallel in this category, but such phenomenon should "be distinguished from 'stock apocalyptic' in that they have 'direct contextual moorings in particular texts' of previous literature."²⁰²

The third internal criterion for isolating a direct allusion in a given passage is the structural parallels. This sort of connection "is characterized either by a similarity in the ordering of material or by an overall similarity in content."²⁰³ In terms of certainty, this type of parallel contributes the strongest evidence for the claimed case, because it usually consists "of a number of interlocking verbal and

¹⁹⁹ *Idem.*

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 179-185.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 179-80.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 182.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 185.

thematic parallels."²⁰⁴ In line with the observation of Beale, Paulien concluded that "the more the criteria a particular proposed allusion fits, the more certain it is that the author consciously molded his passage with that particular literary context in mind."²⁰⁵

On the basis of what he had outlined, Paulien then classified the allusions found in the book of Revelation into five categories: certain allusions, probable allusions, possible allusions, uncertain allusions, and nonallusions.²⁰⁶ In dealing with certain and probable allusions, Pauline suggests, the OT context should be considered. For the accumulated evidence of the cases in these two groups strongly suggest that the OT passages were in the author's mind as he wrote his book. As to the possible allusions, one needs to approach them with caution. For, the evidence found in these cases is enough "to indicate that John may have been making a direct allusion to the Old Testament, but not enough to be reasonably certain."²⁰⁷ With regard to the uncertain allusions and nonallusions, Paulien maintained that they are not to be seen as direct allusions, for the evidence found in these cases is too weak for making such a claim. These two groups of allusions, however, should be considered as the candidates for the category of echo.

Paulien's methodology, as we have said above, is the most elaborate one in the field. He has successfully summarized the contributions of the scholars before him. His integrating the literary-critical theory with the subject in question is also helpful in clarifying the issue. The validity of his research on the use of the OT in the trumpet account (Rev 8:7-12) is greatly increased because of his using such an objective method. The method proposed by Paulien, however, is not fully mature. As will be shown later in our case studies, there are points and considerations to be added to Paulien's method.

R. B. Hays (1989)

Following the model set by J. Hollander,²⁰⁸ R. B. Hays, in dealing with the subject of *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*,²⁰⁹ proposed seven tests for

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 186.

²⁰⁵ *Idem.*

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 193.

²⁰⁷ *Idem.*

hearing echoes.²¹⁰

- (1) Availability. Was the proposed source of the echo available to the author and/or original readers?
- (2) Volume. What is the degree of explicit repetition of words or syntactical patterns? How distinctive is the precursor text within Scripture? And how much rhetorical stress does the echo receive in Paul's discourse?
- (3) Recurrence. How often does Paul elsewhere cite or allude to the same scriptural passage?
- (4) Thematic Coherence. How well does the alleged echo fit into the line of argument that Paul is developing?
- (5) Historical Plausibility. Could Paul have intended the alleged meaning effect? Could his readers have understood it?
- (6) History of Interpretation. Have other readers, both critical and precritical, heard the same echoes?
- (7) Satisfaction. Does the proposed reading make sense? Does it illuminate the surrounding discourse? Does it produce for the reader a satisfying account of the effect of the intertextual relation?²¹¹

Though concentrating on Paul's letters, Hays' criteria resemble, to a large extent, the ones posed by the named scholars above, especially to Paulien's. However, one of his tests, i.e., point 5 above, merits emphasis here. As he said, "the value of the test is to make us wary of readings that turn Paul into (say) a Lutheran or a deconstructionist. One implication of this criterion is to give serious preference to interpretive proposals that allow Paul to remain a Jew."²¹² This test, in the context of Revelation, then, means that we are to remind ourselves, constantly, that what we are dealing with is the view of John, a first century Jewish Christian. Thus, "however odd or controversial a reader of Scripture he may have been, he was a Jewish reader determined to show that his readings could hold a respectable place within the discourse of Israel's faith."²¹³

²⁰⁸ *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

²⁰⁹ New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

²¹⁰ While the concept of allusion, said Hays, "depends both on the notion of authorial intention and on the assumption that the reader will share with the author the requisite 'portable library' to recognize the source of the allusion," (Ibid., 29), echo, however, is not bound to such presuppositions. But "since we know the readers of Paul's letters only through the letters themselves, it is in principle very difficult to distinguish between allusion and echo in these texts." So, throughout the book, "*allusion* is used of obvious intertextual references, *echo* of subtler ones" (Ibid., 29).

²¹¹ Ibid., 29-32.

²¹² Ibid., 31.

²¹³ *Idem*. The quotation is of Paul, yet perfectly suitable for John.

J. Fekkes (1994)

In his book surveyed above, Fekkes also addressed the issue of allusion.²¹⁴ On the "Criteria for quotations and Allusions," Fekkes first reminded his readers of the uniqueness of John's use of the OT. (1) Some texts of Revelation should be thought of as allusions if measured by the method employed by other NT authors, but they are to be taken as quotations in the light of John's particular method and purpose. (2) The degree of validity of some undiscovered or doubtful references will increase if they belong to a cluster of allusions which are derived from a particular OT source.

For Fekkes, the OT references are of two kinds, "formal quotation," and "informal quotation," and the difference between them is simply that one has introductory formulae while the other is without. Allusions, Fekkes suggested, belong to the latter group, and the difference between allusions and informal quotations is not very clear. In the end, he said, the distinction must be based on perceived authorial motive.

This will include an estimate of the function of an OT text in a given passage and particularly its interrelationship with the surrounding context. To be more precise, the boundaries between an informal quotation and an allusion depend on the level of consciousness or visibility attached to an OT text by an author, and consequently, on the degree of recognition which that author expects of the reader. This may be discerned to some extent from the immediate context - for example, in the degree to which an OT text has been integrated or assimilated into the context. The more a text is broken up and woven into the passage, the less likely it is to be a quotation.²¹⁵

Besides this, (1) the characteristic of a certain author's use of OT, (2) the "prominence of the OT Scriptures in the author's social and liturgical environment, and (3) the possibility that a specific text may belong to local or conventional *testimonia*," are also mentioned by Fekkes as the factors to be considered.

What Fekkes offered here, to be sure, are not detailed guide lines but some important general principles. Yet his classification of John's allusions into four thematic clusters,²¹⁶ found later in the same chapter, exemplifies and supports one of the suggestions he made here, i.e., that we are to pay attention to the characteristics

²¹⁴ *Isaiah and Prophetic Tradition*, 63-69.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 70-101.

of John in his using of the OT, a point stressed by many but not giving concrete examples for others to follow. Some sort of guide lines, certainly, have been employed to justify his claim in chapters 3-7 where he examined, case by case, the use of Isaiah in Revelation,²¹⁷ but unfortunately these have not been spelled out in this section which is titled as "Criteria for quotations and allusions." It would seem better if he could have laid out what he thought of as the criteria for determining allusions and could have given a proper discussion on each of those criteria in this part of the book before diving into the pool of case studies.

Summary

Though brief, the above review is enough for us to see that the issue concerning how to identify allusion in a given passage is not a simple one. Ignorance of this fact, as illustrated well in the two tables given earlier, will result in a serious damage to the credibility of one's finding. A sound methodological consideration, hence, is required before one may continue taking up further investigations, such as how and why a certain image from an earlier text has been employed in a later one, or what effect does this borrowing have on the understanding of the later text, etc.

The above review, further, has shown that though working in different fields, the named scholars have come to similar suggestions for the problem of identifying allusion. Though different terminologies have been used, the methods delineated are essentially the same. Certainly each of these reviewed methods has its own contributions and insights, this thesis will however adopt the one proposed by Paulien for the reason that his method is the most elaborate and comprehensive one. In particular, we will examine our cases by the following three criteria. The first is the criterion of verbal parallelism. This task is to be carried out by searching the verbal connection between the two passages involved. We will pay attention not only to the question *What*, i.e., What are the words that have been borrowed by the later author from the potential source, but also to the question *Why*, i.e., Why the later author chose to borrow some certain words from his source. The reason to pay

²¹⁷ Examples of this include (1) the similarities of theme, structure and vocabulary (Ibid., 255; 256-28) and (2) the "linguistic-textual" and "theological-contextual" evidences (Ibid., 112-16).

attention also to the authorial motive is that when this element is properly perceived, the probability of the alleged case will be increased. The second criterion to test a case of allusion is the thematic parallelism. The focus of this testing is not on the parallel of words, but on the parallel of thought. Thus, the context and theme of the two passages in question will be analyzed to see how the passages parallel each other in this respect. The third criterion used in the thesis to erect a case of allusion is the structural parallelism. We will examine the involved passages, seeing if the passages in view are constructed in the same pattern, or if the materials of the two passages are arranged in the same order. By applying Paulien's method to our case studies, we will test its validity and practicality and at the same time try to see if our cases would shed any new light, no matter how dim it may be, on this well-developed method.

CHAPTER 2

The Fall of the Great Harlot Babylon: The Use of Ezekiel 26-28 in Revelation 18

The first case to be examined in this thesis is the use of Ezekiel 26-28 in Revelation 18. This case, to be sure, received attention in the past. But as noted in the first chapter, the endeavor of previous scholarship was given only to the literary influence of the OT passage on the New, without considering the hermeneutical dimension involved also in this case. To make good this lack, we will focus our attention, in addition to the literary relation between the two accounts, also on this hermeneutical aspect. As a result, part one of this chapter is given to the literary analysis of Ezekiel 26-28 and to the investigation of the hermeneutics of this passage. In particular, the use of the Eden tradition in Ezekiel 28:11-19 will be the subject of the inquiry. These examinations are aimed to provide a ground for comparison when the NT passage is also scrutinized in the second part of the chapter. But before the conclusion is drawn, the implication of this case study for the understanding of the book of Revelation will constitute the third part of the chapter.

Part One: The Examination of the Old Testament Passage

A literary analysis of Ezekiel 26-28

That the oracles against Tyre (Ezek 26:1-28:19) belong to a larger block of texts, Ezekiel 25-32, is a consensus among scholars.¹ This block of texts, i.e.,

¹ W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, trans. C. Quin (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 351-54; W. Zimmerli,

Ezekiel 25-32, is composed of judgment oracles against seven foreign nations. They are, in turn, Ammon, Moab, Edom, Philistia, Tyre, Sidon, and Egypt. In view of its placement in the book, Ronald M. Hals suggested that this passage functions "as a transition from a message of judgment to one of hope."² This means that the judgment of foreign nations, as we have here, is the presupposition of the restoration of God's people, which is what the rest of the book is about. Chapters 25-32, therefore, "are to be interpreted as belonging to the realm of the death which is to precede life."³

Ezekiel 26:1-28:19, which is one of the seven components of Ezekiel 25-32, is also built up in the pattern of seven. For in this passage we find seven oracles which are all issued against Tyre (26:1-6; 26:7-14; 26:15-18; 26:19-21; 27:1-36; 28:1-10; and 28:11-19).⁴ Among these seven oracles, three of them, i.e., 26:15-18, 27:1-36, and 28:11-19, are delivered in the form of dirges. Since these three dirges are directly related to Revelation 18, the scope of examination will be limited to them.

Of the three dirges, the one in 26:15-18 is the shortest one. It begins with the messenger formula (v. 15a). This indicates that the words followed are to be heard as Yahweh's own, including the lament uttered from the mouths of the princes of the sea (vv. 17-18).⁵ It then, in the rest of verse 15, briefly resumes the judgment that had fallen on the city-state (vv. 7-14), and then describes the reaction of the princes of the sea to the punishment she had suffered (v.16). The typical and plaintive exclamation, אֵיךְ,⁶ introduces then the lament (v. 17a). The best-known feature of the dirge, the contrasting of past glory (v. 17bcde) with present devastation (vv. 17-18), concludes the funeral song.⁷

Ezekiel 2, trans. J. D. Martin (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 3-5; M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20* (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 4, 6; R. M. Hals, *Ezekiel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 3-4, 178-80; L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48* (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), xxiii.

² Hals, *Ezekiel*, 179-80; see also Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 3-4.

³ Hals, *Ezekiel*, 180.

⁴ The collection of oracles against Egypt in chapters 29-32 is also built up in the pattern of seven. For a discussion of the meaning of using such pattern, see Hals, *Ezekiel*, 179-80.

⁵ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 76; Hals, *Ezekiel*, 187.

⁶ The plaintive אֵיךְ and its fuller form, אֵיכָה, are used in other prophetic writings (e.g., Isa 1:21; Jer 50:23) to introduce laments; see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 38.

⁷ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 38.

Ezekiel 27:1-36, on the other hand, is the longest dirge among the three. This feature is mainly due to verses 12-24 in the chapter, which is a long list of Tyre's trading partners and their goods.⁸ This lengthy list causes difficulty to the chapter on at least three levels. First, with regard to symmetry, this long list makes the dirge unbalanced. Second, in terms of consistency, the poetic genre of the dirge is interrupted by this list which is composed in prose. Third, with content, the metaphor of stately ship running from verse 4 to verse 25 is disrupted by this list. Faced with such a complex feature, scholars line themselves up in two camps. The first includes those who eliminate, by various criteria, the list from the dirge, seeing it as composed of the material not belonging to the original dirge.⁹ The second consists of those who maintain that the list is an inseparable part of the dirge, taking the dirge here "as one of many types of poetry, one especially prone to employ metaphors, and therefore one for which aspects of the wisdom movement need to be explored."¹⁰ The questions concerning whether the list belongs to the original dirge or not, and if it is not, how and when did it emerge into the texts are of interest but since our concern here is how this passage was read by John, a first century Jewish Christian, we will leave these questions open, leaving them to be answered by OT critics.

Despite such disagreement, however, this oracle, as it stands in present form, "bears clear marks of rhetorical unity,"¹¹ for this literary unit is clearly defined by the prophetic word formula¹² in verse 1 and by the concluding refrain¹³ in verse 36.¹⁴ As a result, "the lament within the lament,"¹⁵ i.e., the dirge sung by the sailors in verses 32c-36, is to be heard as Yahweh's own words. "Like other oracles against foreign

⁸ There are, however, other shorter texts, such as vv. 9b, 11, 27, etc., that are seen by scholars as texts that do not belong to the original dirge. See Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 83-5; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 53ff.

⁹ E.g., Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 84; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 53ff.

¹⁰ Hals, *Ezekiel*, 193.

¹¹ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 83.

¹² The prophetic word formula, *וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר* (The word of the Lord came to me), in Ezekiel 26:1-28:19, is also found in 26:1, 28:1, 11. Thus, if we follow this device, the passage is composed of four literary units: 26:1-21; 27:1-36; 28:1-10; and 28:11-19.

¹³ This concluding refrain, *בְּלִהּוֹת הָיִיתָ וְאֵינְךָ עַד־עוֹלָם* (you have come to a dreadful end and shall be no more forever), is found in 26:21 (slightly expended), 27:36, and 28:19. Following this, the passage is constructed in three sections: 26:1-21; 27:1-36; and 28:1-19.

¹⁴ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 83-4; Hals, *Ezekiel*, 192-4.

¹⁵ J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1990), 121.

nations in lament form," D. Stuart observed, "it employs the four lament characteristics of (1) direct address to the deceased, (2) description of the deceased's past greatness, (3) call to others to take notice and mourn, and (4) expression of the extent of the tragedy involved."¹⁶ The dirge, though unusually longer than others, moves, hence, also from the past glory to the present misery. This pattern appears not only in the dirge as a whole (vv. 3e-25 vs. vv. 26-36), but also in the lament within the lament (vv. 32c-33 vs. vv. 34-36).

Concerning the third dirge in Ezekiel 28:11-19, three things are clear. First, it is without doubt that this passage stands in itself as a complete literary unit which is framed by the prophetic word formula in verse 11 and the concluding refrain in verse 19. Second, it is a dirge (קִינָה, v. 12) and it has been introduced nearly in the same way as the dirge in chapter 27 (cf. 27:2). Thirdly, the dirge "contains the usual components: direct address to the dead, eulogy of the dead, a call to mourning, and an expression of the magnitude of the loss to the survivors."¹⁷ But concerning what kind of dirge it is, and how to interpret the metaphors employed, namely, the metaphors of the garden Eden and of the Cherub, the present dirge is the most difficult one among the three. It is not surprising, therefore, to see how greatly the scholars differ from one to the others on this matter. Zimmerli, for example, based on the criterion of the 3:2 dirge meter, had tried to restore the basic text of the dirge,¹⁸ but such effort has been questioned by Allen and by Hals.¹⁹ It is necessary to notice again that our interest here is not the pre-history of the text but the structure, form and theme of the dirge.

Viewed from the perspective of genre, this dirge "seems to be composed in rhythmic prose rather than in poetry."²⁰ In terms of content, as we have noticed above, the dirge contains all the elements that a dirge should have. It retains "the contrast of then and now"²¹ which is typical of the dirge (vv. 12-14 vs. vv. 16-19). One might be confused by the components of wisdom (v. 13)²² and of myth (v. 14),

¹⁶ D. Stuart, *Ezekiel* (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 265.

¹⁷ Ibid., 273.

¹⁸ For details, see his commentary, *Ezekiel* 2, 89.

¹⁹ See Allen, *Ezek 20-48*, 92-3; Hals, *Ezekiel*, 199.

²⁰ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 92.

²¹ Ibid.

yet on the whole, the dirge serves "as a sophisticated kind of judgment oracle."²³

The use of the Eden tradition in Ezekiel 28:11-19

The dirge of the prophet Ezekiel over the king of Tyre (Ezek 28:11-19) has enjoyed scholarly attention for a long time,²⁴ especially in this century.²⁵ Among many other things, the mythological background of this passage has been one of the focal points of scholarly endeavours. This phenomenon, rightly so, is mainly due to two reasons. First, some of the imageries and terms used in this dirge are obscure, at least in the eyes of a modern reader. Examples of this include (1) one of the descriptions of the king of Tyre in verse 12, חֹתֶם תְּכַנִּיית,²⁶ (2) the portrayal of the cherub, מְמוֹשֵׁחַ הַסּוּכָךְ (v. 14),²⁷ and (3) the mysterious objects found in the mountain of God, אֲבִי־אֵשׁ (v. 14).²⁸ These semantic difficulties, hence, intrigue the scholars to find ancient parallels so as to make sense of the texts.

²² The wisdom element, i.e., list making, is in fact also found in the dirge of 27:12-24.

²³ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 93; see also, Hals, *Ezekiel*, 201.

²⁴ See Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 95; where he mentions the interest of church fathers in this particular passage (e.g., Tertullian, Origen, John Cassian, etc.).

²⁵ The following bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive. No commentary or monograph that deal with this passage has been listed. The giving of the references here is only to demonstrate that the passage in view receives a great deal of attention in this century especially in the past few decades. A. A. Bevan, "The King of Tyre in Ezekiel XXVIII," *JTS* 4 (1903), 500-505; G. A. Cooke, "The Paradise Story of Ezekiel XXVIII," in *Old Testament Essays* (London: Charles Griffin, 1927), 37-45; W. E. Barnes, "Ezekiel's Denunciation of Tyre (Ezek. XXVI-XXVIII)," *JTS* 35 (1934), 50-54; J. L. McKenzie, "Mythological Allusions in Ezek 28 12-18," *JBL* 75 (1956), 322-27; H. G. May, "The King in the Garden of Eden: A Study of Ezekiel 28:12-19," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (London: SCM, 1962), 166-76; K. Yaron, "The Dirge over the King of Tyre," *ASTI* 3 (1964), 28-57; N. C. Habel, "Ezekiel 28 and the Fall of the First Man," *CTM* 38 (1967), 516-24; O. Loretz, "Der Sturz des Fürsten von Tyrus (Ez 28, 1-19)," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8 (1976), 455-58; A. J. Williams, "The Mythological Background of Ezekiel 28:12-19?" *BTB* 6 (1976), 49-61; G. A. Newsom, "A Maker of Metaphors - Ezekiel's Oracles against Tyre," *Int* 38 (1984), 151-64; R. R. Wilson, "The Death of the King of Tyre: The Editorial History of Ezekiel 28," in *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope* (Guilford: Four Quarters, 1987), 211-18; J. van Seters, "The Creation of Man and The Creation of the King," *ZAW* 101 (1989), 333-42; K. Jeppesen, "You are a Cherub, but no God!" *SJOT* 1 (1991), 83-94; J. Barr, "Thou art the Cherub: Ezekiel 28.14 and the Post-Ezekiel Understanding of Genesis 2-3," in *Priests, Prophets and Scribes: Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp* (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1992), 213-23; J. E. Miller, "The Mælæk of Tyre (Ezekiel 28, 11-19)," *ZAW* 105 (1993), 497-501; H. R. Page, Jr., "Ezekiel 28:11-19," in *The Myth of Cosmic Rebellion: A Study of its Reflexes in Ugaritic and Biblical Literature* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 148-58.

²⁶ "The signet of perfection" or the like is usually rendered by the commentators. For a detailed discussion of this, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 81.

²⁷ "A winged(?) guardian cherub" is Allen's translation which illustrates well the obscurity of this phrase (*Ezekiel 20-48*, 90). See page 91, note 14.b, for a detailed discussion of these two words.

The second and more important reason for scholars to focus on the mythical background of this Ezekielian passage is that the Edenic story preserved in this dirge, at points, parallels the tradition of Eden (Gen 2-3),²⁹ but at the same time diverges, in other instances, from that particular tradition. The points of connection between these two texts are many. First, the plot of the two stories is the same. In both accounts, a being is said to be created in a specific place, namely, the Garden of Eden (Gen 2:8; Ezek 28:13), but due to his sin, he is being expelled from it (Gen 3:23; Ezek 28:16). In a word, the two stories equally tell of a tale of Paradise lost. Second, the two narratives share the same perspective, i.e., Yahwism, for Yahweh alone is the one who decrees the fate of the created beings in these two stories. Third, before their fall, the two created beings, Adam and the king of Tyre, are evenly characterized by the primeval perfection and bliss (Gen 2:8-25; Ezek 28:15). Fourth, the sins that cause expulsions in these two stories are similar. In Genesis it is the seeking of the likeness to God (Gen 3:5), while in Ezekiel it is the self-deification (Ezek 28:17, cf. 28:2, 6, 9).³⁰ Fifth, a cherub (or cherubim) emerges in both accounts, being presented as the instrument of punishment (Gen 3:24; Ezek 28:16³¹). Sixth, in connection with the Garden Eden, precious stones appear in both stories (Gen 2:11; Ezek 28:13). Seventh, the two stories are also connected by a couple of similar phraseology. (1) "On the day when you were created" (בְּיוֹם הַבְּרָאָה, Ezek 28:13) and "from the day you were created" (מִיוֹם הַבְּרָאָה, Ezek 28:15) recall "when they were created" (בְּהַבְרָאָה, Gen 2:4) and "in the day the Lord God made" (בְּיוֹם עֲשׂוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים, Gen 2:4). (2) The judgment of the created being in both accounts is presented in a similar expression. Adam in Genesis is sentenced "you are dust, and to dust you shall return" (כִּי-עָפָר אַתָּה וְאֶל-עָפָר תָּשׁוּב, 3:19), while the

²⁸ Most scholars agree that the phrase literally means "stones of fire," but as to what does these "stones of fire" refer to, there is no consensus.

²⁹ Genesis 2-3, to be sure, is in itself an account laden with many mythical traits. For a summary of scholars' attempts to identify the sources behind Genesis 2-3, see G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15* (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 51-53.

³⁰ Admittedly, the sins of the king of Tyre mentioned in this dirge include the unjust trade (vv. 16, 18), but it will make clear later that the prophet's major concern is not of social injustice but of religious implication of Tyre's commercial success.

³¹ This is, of course, based on the reading of the LXX which takes אִתָּךְ (v. 14) as "with" (אִתָּךְ) and וְאֶבְרַךְ (v. 16) as "and he banished you" (וְאֶבְרַךְ). For a detailed discussion of these, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 85-6; Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 91.

king of Tyre in Ezekiel is denounced "and I turned you to ashes on the earth"

(וְאַתְּנָךְ לְאֶפֶר עַל-הָאָרֶץ, 28:18).

Differences, however, are also found between these two stories. First, the Serpent, the woman, the trees,³² and the rivers,³³ so distinctive to the Eden tradition of Genesis, are absent from Ezekiel's account. Second, unlike Adam, the king of Tyre is not charged with the task of tilling and guarding the garden. Third, besides these omissions, the prophet's story has something that is not found in Genesis. These include the elements of wisdom³⁴ and beauty ascribed to the king of Tyre (Ezek 28:12) and the fire of stones, among which the king of Tyre walks (Ezek 28:14). Fourth, contrasting to Genesis 2-3 which tells of the creation of the first man, the prophet's account relates the creation of a king, or even a supernatural being (Ezek 28:14).³⁵

These remarkable features of the passage, therefore, require an explanation. But in answering this inquiry, one is facing an even more fundamental problem, i.e., the textual difficulties. Most of the Scriptural texts involve textual difficulties, but this issue is more acute here than in many other passages. The difference between the MT and the LXX in the list of gems (v. 13) is certainly an example of this,³⁶ but the divergence of the LXX from the MT in the understanding of the first word of verse 14, **אַתָּה**, is the most serious one.³⁷ For, if one follows the MT, taking the **אַתָּה** as **אַתָּה**³⁸ (you), the first two lines of verse 14 will then be "you (the king of Tyre) were

³² The absence of trees in this particular account does not mean that the prophet is in ignorance of the tradition that the Garden is a tree-park. Ezekiel 31, where the king of Egypt is allegorically compared to an arrogant tree in the Garden Eden who is envied by other trees, clearly suggests that that tradition is not unknown to the prophet. In fact, Ezekiel 31 suggests the freedom the prophet has in dealing with tradition.

³³ What we have said in the preceding footnote is also true to this missing item. For the tradition of Eden as source of water and consequently the source of life is also known to the prophet (Ezek 47:1-12). For detailed discussion of this, see chapter 5 of this thesis.

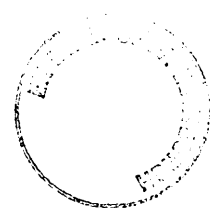
³⁴ This item, on the surface, seems not found in Genesis 2-3, but later we will see that this element is actually presented in Genesis.

³⁵ This is what the vocalized MT has, i.e., to read the first line of this verse as "You are a cherub."

³⁶ While the MT has a list of nine stones, which corresponds, to some extent, to the breastplate of the high priest (Exod 28:17-20), the LXX has a list of twelve stones exactly the same as the one in Exodus.

³⁷ Coupled with this textual difference is the reading of **וְאַתְּנָךְ** (and I [Yahweh] banished you, v. 16), which, if one follows the LXX, should be emended as **וַיֵּאבֶרְךְ** (and he [the cherub] banished you) so to maintain a proper perspective; see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 86 for details.

³⁸ In most cases (over seven hundred times), **אַתָּה** is used as a second person feminine singular



the winged guardian³⁹ cherub and I set you there, in the holy mountain of God you were." This reading, as a result, opens the door for one to read the passage as an account of the creation and fall of a cherub and consequently the creation and fall of Satan.⁴⁰ But if one follows the LXX, taking the כַּיָּא as כַּיָּ (with), the first two lines of verse 14 become "with the cherub I set you; in the holy mountain of God you were." This reading, then, makes the passage an account of the creation and fall of a king who does not belong to the sphere of divine. These ambiguities of the texts, therefore, complicate the situation. In H. G. May's words, the dirge in view is "a Pandora's box of problems."⁴¹

Faced with these difficulties, scholars, however, have not failed to offer explanations. Their proposals, by and large, are of two types.⁴² The first is that Genesis 2-3 and Ezekiel 28 are derived from a common mythical source.⁴³ C. A. Cooke, for example, maintains that though not of native Hebrew origin, the myths behind Genesis 2-3 and Ezekiel 28 belong "to the common stock of Semitic tales. Some form of them have been preserved in the Babylonian epics, some in Phœnician. In Genesis they have been purged by the genius of Hebrew religion; in Ez. the purifying process has not gone so far."⁴⁴ This view is widely accepted, but unfortunately, no myth, in most of the cases, has been cited to sustain such a claim.

In dealing with this Ezekielian passage, G. Widengren, for example, proposes that parallel to Ezekiel 28 is Mesopotamian myths where he finds a hero, having a shining splendid body, is placed in a garden of the gods and adorned with jewels.⁴⁵ M. H. Pope, on the other hand, suggests that lying behind Ezekiel 28 is an Ugaritic

personal pronoun. But only here and other two places (Num 11:15; Deut 5:24), it is taken as second person masculine personal pronoun.

³⁹ Besides the semantic difficulty noted earlier, the description of the cherub in verse 14, כַּיָּאֵלִים, is also textually problematic, because this description is absent in the LXX. The translation given here is thereby tentative.

⁴⁰ E.g., L. E. Cooper, *Ezekiel* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994), 265.

⁴¹ "The King in the Garden of Eden," *l.c.*, 167.

⁴² For a concise summary of some scholars' views on the relation of Ezekiel 28 to Genesis 2-3, see A. J. Williams (*l.c.*), 51-3, where the opinions of H. Gunkel, A. Bertholet, G. A. Cooke, W. Eichrodt, C. Westermann, W. Zimmerli and many others are given.

⁴³ For examples of this view, see J. van Seters (*l.c.*), 334; where the views of I. Engnell, A. Bentzen, T. D. N. Mettinger and H. N. Wallace are mentioned.

⁴⁴ "The Paradise Story of Ezekiel XXVIII," *l.c.*, 39-40.

⁴⁵ *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion* (Uppsala: Lundequists, 1951), 1-19.

myth. This myth, as he reconstructed, concerns firstly the deposition of El, the head of the Ugaritic pantheon who once lived in a splendid Mount Zaphon, by a new young god Baal, and secondly the fighting back, though vainly, of El.⁴⁶ The fall of El, Pope contends, is reflected in Ezekiel 28,⁴⁷ for here we have also a god (Ezek 28:2), who once lived on the mount of god (Ezek 28:14, 16) and dwelled in a building made of the stones of fire (Ezek 14, 16),⁴⁸ but being cast down to the sphere of underworld (Ezek 28:8).

These two scholars' proposals, however, have been questioned by J. L. McKenzie.⁴⁹ On Widengren's suggestion, McKenzie argues that the dominant features of the tree of life and the water of life, the two elements that are closely connected with the king in Mesopotamian myths, are absent from Ezekiel. "There is no indication of a fault and an expulsion in Widengren's pattern; and the hero of the Mesopotamian pattern is identified by Widengren as a god."⁵⁰ On Pope's theory, McKenzie indicates that it is not as strong as it seems, especially in the case between Pope's reconstructed Ugaritic myth and the dirge of Ezekiel (28:11-19), the passage in which we are interested. The fall of El might have been reflected in Ezekiel 28:1-10, McKenzie argues, but the connection between the alleged myth and the dirge in view is too weak to sustain a case. The sage indeed relates a palace-erecting story, but that palace is actually Baal's, not of El. "If Ezekiel uses mythological allusions from this source," says McKenzie, "no distinct pattern emerges."⁵¹ Though not denying the probability of containing mythological allusions to other sources, McKenzie concludes, "it appears that Ezek 28 12-18 has more points of contact with the Paradise story than with any other biblical passage or with any known mythological pattern."⁵²

⁴⁶ *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955), 82-97. For Pope's view on the relation of Ezek 28 to the Ugaritic myth, see pages 97-104. Pope's view is followed by K. Yaron (*l.c.*, 51, 54), but since he adds no further evidence to Pope's theory, no space is here giving to his analysis.

⁴⁷ For a similar view, see R. J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1972), 168-73.

⁴⁸ The "stones of fire" (אֲבָנֵי-אֵשׁ, Ezek 28:14, 16) is understood by Pope as the end product of smelting of gems and metal, a process that took place in erecting a palace for a god recorded in a Ugaritic myth (*l.c.*, 99-102).

⁴⁹ "Mythological Allusions in Ezek 28 12-18," *JBL* 75 (1956), 322-27.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 323.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 325.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 327.

Pope's thesis is also questioned by R. R. Wilson.⁵³ Wilson argues that the imageries employed in Ezekiel 28:11-19, particularly those in verses 11-14, point not to Ugaritic myths but to the traditions of Israel. He maintains that the list of gems (v.13),⁵⁴ the "perfect seal" (חֹתֶם תְּכֵנִית, v. 12),⁵⁵ the garden of God (v. 13) and the cherub are all Israelite allusions pointing to Jerusalem Temple.⁵⁶ The addressee of this dirge, accordingly, is the priesthood represented by the high priest. This dirge, ostensibly issued against the king of Tyre, is in fact an oblique oracle, aiming to denounce the sins of the priests. But this reading of the dirge was lost as time went by, Wilson proposes, and it has been taken at its face value and attached to a genuine anti-Tyrian oracle (Ezek 28:1-10).

The most recent proposal on the probable myth behind Ezekiel 28 is offered by J. van Seters.⁵⁷ In comparison with a newly published Neo-Babylonian mythical text,⁵⁸ van Seters suggests that Ezekiel 28 is dependent upon the Babylonian tradition in two points. First, both texts relate the creation of king. Second, "the resemblance lies in the fact that the king is created with wisdom, beauty and the vestments of royalty (vv. 12-13, 17) as in the Babylonian myth."⁵⁹ Like Psalm 8 and Genesis 1, van Seters concludes, the dirge of Ezekiel preserves this Babylonian tradition about the creation of the king.⁶⁰

Though interesting, Wilson's and van Seters' theses are not without difficulties. The four connections Wilson made, first of all, are not all valid. The second alleged allusion, i.e., the prefect seal as a description of the priest, is an example of this. This item, as noted earlier, is textually and semantically

⁵³ "The Death of the King of Tyre: The Editorial History of Ezekiel 28" (*l.c.*). For his critics on Pope, see 213-14.

⁵⁴ This list of gems, Wilson suggests, points to the high priest's breastplate in Exodus 28:17-20 (*ibid.*, 214).

⁵⁵ With the interpretation of the "perfect seal" as a description of role of the king who carries out God's will, Wilson then suggests that in this sense this description fits also well with the priest (*ibid.*, 215).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 214-16.

⁵⁷ "The Creation of Man and The Creation of the King," *ZAW* 101 (1989), 333-42.

⁵⁸ W. R. Mayer, "Ein Mythos von der Erschaffung des Menschen und des Königs," *Or* 56 (1987), 55-68.

⁵⁹ "The Creation of Man and The Creation of the King," 338.

⁶⁰ Van Seters' intention is not just to find a mythical background for the Ezekielian passage, but to show also the development of this tradition (the creation of the king) in history. In a short while we will return to this issue.

problematic. Hence, any suggestion based on this item must be tentative. The more serious problem of Wilson's thesis, however, is his logic. True, the list of gems, the garden of God and the cherub might point to the priest, but this does not necessarily mean the priest of Israel is in view. The historical connection of Solomon's temple to the Tyrian temple⁶¹ and the priestly role of ancient kings⁶² could suggest otherwise that these elements are proper descriptions of the king of Tyre. Besides, if Wilson's thesis is correct, how do we explain the fact that the addressee of the dirge is judged because of his seeking to be like God, which is not applicable to the priest of Israel?

As to van Seters' proposal, it is clear that the connection he made between the newly published Neo-Babylon myth and the dirge of Ezekiel is not as strong as he claimed. The two linked texts parallel each other in only two points, i.e., the *creation* of the king and the creation of the king *beautifully*. The elements of wisdom and royal regalia are in fact not found in this newly published myth. In contrast to these scanty linkages is the divergence which, in terms of proportion, is far larger than that of the similarities. As van Seters himself admits, there is no hubris, no fall, no expulsion, and no paradise in the myth.⁶³ And to this list, I would add that there is also no cherub. McKenzie's criticism on Widengren and Pope's theses, it seems to me, still holds true even though new suggestions have emerged. That is, though it may at points preserve mythical elements, "Ezek 28 12-18 has more points of contact with the Paradise story than with any other biblical passage or with any known mythological pattern."⁶⁴

This, then, leads us to the second opinion, i.e., the two Eden accounts, Genesis 2-3 and Ezekiel 28:11-19, are directly related. Two opposite views, however, are found in this category. One is that Genesis is dependent upon Ezekiel. J. Van Seters, the scholar mentioned earlier, is an advocate of this view.⁶⁵ He suggests that the tradition of the creation of the king found in the newly published

⁶¹ Based on the close alliance of the king Solomon with the king of Tyre, Hiram, and on the fact that Solomon's temple was built by Tyrians, A. A. Bevan proposes that the Tyrian Temple is the model for Solomon's temple (*l.c.*).

⁶² Allen, *Ezekiel*, 95.

⁶³ These additions are explained by van Seters as the inventions of the prophet Ezekiel and consequently the transformation of the myth (*l.c.*, 339-40).

⁶⁴ "Mythological Allusions in Ezek 28 12-18," *JBL* 75 (1956), 327.

⁶⁵ *L.c.*

Babylonian myth is firstly reflected and reinterpreted in Ezekiel 28, a text, together with its Babylonian source, then used by the Yahwist to formulate Genesis 2-3.⁶⁶ Attractive as it may be,⁶⁷ van Seters' contention, however, bears no direct relevance to the interest of this thesis. For the question the thesis intended to answer is not "what is the history of the tradition of the creation of the king?" but "what does the relationship between Genesis 2-3 and Ezekiel 28 mean to the author of Revelation, a first century Jewish Christian?" As a result, we will give no further space to van Seters' opinion here but focus on the second view, i.e., John takes Ezekiel 28 as a text dependent upon Genesis 2-3.⁶⁸

This assumption, upon which our following analysis will rest, is a reasonable one. First, in the first chapter of this thesis where we survey the past scholarship on the use of the OT in Revelation, we already noticed the circumstantial familiarity of the author of Revelation with the OT. This assumption fits in well with this understanding of John. Second, besides this general familiarity with the OT, John's acquaintance of the relationship between the tradition of Eden (Gen 2-3) and the book of Ezekiel in particular is seen in Revelation 22:1-2, a passage relying, to some measurable extent, on both Genesis 2-3 and Ezekiel 47.⁶⁹ Third, this assumption is also supported by a Jewish tradition.⁷⁰

Said R. Hama bar Hanina, Ten canopies⁷¹ did the Holy One, blessed be He, made for the first Man in the garden of Eden: You were Eden, the garden of God; every precious

⁶⁶ *L.c.*, 341.

⁶⁷ Van Seters, I think, has brilliantly answered the question, *if* the Ezekielian passage is the source for Genesis 2-3, how then is the former passage being used in the later one? But he has not convincingly shown how the connection of the Ezekielian dirge to the newly published ancient text has made it the antecedent of Genesis 2-3, the very thing he intended to prove.

⁶⁸ J. B. Taylor, for example, is of this opinion (*Ezekiel* [Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1969], 196-97).

⁶⁹ John's use of Genesis 2-3 and Ezekiel 47 in Revelation 22 is the subject of chapter 5 of this thesis; for details, see there. The tradition of Paradise story is in fact reflected in the book of Ezekiel in at least four occurrences. Besides here and chapter 47, that tradition is also found in chapter 31 and in 36:35. To what extent is this tradition reflected in these two later passages is certainly a subject debated among scholars (see Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, 635-48; 732-33), but the appearance of this tradition in these two accounts, as well as in the other two instances, would most possibly suggest John of the prophet's familiarity with Genesis 2-3. For other examples of Ezekiel's familiarity with the Pentateuch, see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 293-5.

⁷⁰ According to *Encyclopedia Judaica* (vol. 7, 1219), Rabbi Hama bar Hanina, whose words quoted in the following lines, lived in third century, a time not too far from John's days. His view, hence, provides a roughly contemporary example to our case here. This connection is even more plausible when a general characteristic of Talmud is considered, i.e., the Talmud preserves many traditions circulated long before the time they were collected and compiled.

stone was your covering, the cornelian, the topaz, the emerald, the beryl, the onyx, the jasper, the sapphire, the carbuncle, and the emerald and gold (Ezek. 28:13).⁷²

This aggadah is then considered by the later Rabbis as an example to illustrate the seventeenth rule of the Thirty-Two Hermeneutic Rules, i.e., "a circumstance not clearly expressed in the main passage is mentioned elsewhere."⁷³

We know [from Gen 2:8-9] that the Holy One (blessed be he) planted for the first human (Adam) every sort of tree and all sorts of choice plants; but we did not gather [from the Genesis account] that [he also] created for him wedding canopies of gold and precious stones and pearls. Whence do we learn that? From the address [of Ezekiel] to Hiram [= the king of Tyre]: "In Eden, the garden of God were you, of every precious stone was your canopy etc." God said to Hiram: "[Do you think] you are the first man to whom I did all this honor?"⁷⁴

Obviously this traditional understanding of Ezekiel 28:13 is made possible only when the verse is read as a question: Can you compare yourself with Adam whom I created in Eden with ten canopies?⁷⁵ This understanding of the verse, however, is not necessarily of John's, but it clearly indicates that the reason to connect these two passages is because the two texts share the same scenario, i.e., the garden Eden. In other words, this prominent element alone is enough for ancient Rabbis to make a connection.⁷⁶ In the light of this, it is reasonable to assume that a handful of correspondences found between the two texts in view would suggest to John the dependence of Ezekiel upon Genesis.

⁷¹ מִסְכָּתָךְ (literally, your covering, Ezek 28:13) is here understood as canopy.

⁷² B. B. Bat 75a; J. Neusner, trans., *The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation*. Vol. XXII.C: Tractate Baba Batra Chapters 4-6 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984), 54. It is interesting to note that Rabbis were in disagreement on the number of the canopies that God created for Adam, but no debate is found in this source about the relation of Ezekiel 28:13 to Genesis 2-3.

⁷³ H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to The Talmud and Midrash*. Trans. M. Bockmuehl (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 30. These 32 rules are named after Eliezer b. Yose Ha-Gelili, a Rabbi lived about A.D. 150. But since the work cites no teacher later than the third century, scholars opt to see that the original work lists only the rules, upon which the examples were added by later hands as a kind of Gemara; for details, see B. D. Klien, "Baraita of 32 Rules," in *Encyclopedia Judaica* Vol. 4, 194-5.

⁷⁴ This translation is of Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, 590.

⁷⁵ M. Eisemann, *Yechezkel: The Book of Ezekiel/A New Translation with a Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic, and Rabbinic Sources* (N.Y.: Mesorah Publications, 1977), 468.

⁷⁶ *Gen. Rab.* XV:II.1.B provides another example of this, where Ezekiel 28:13, as well as Ezekiel 31:9, has been connected with Genesis 2:9 for the reason that these texts deal with the same theme, i.e., the garden of Eden. See, J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis*. Vol. 1 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 162. *Genesis Rabbah*, according to Neusner, came to closure at the end of fourth century and the beginning of the fifth (see ix), hence the sage in view provides a piece of evidence for the case we are arguing here.

But what does this dependence mean? Clearly this dependence, for John, means that the prophet Ezekiel has formulated his dirge after the Eden story in Genesis. But what makes Ezekiel do this? Two reasons, I suspect, lie behind this usage. First, the Eden story was familiar to the prophet's audiences. Thus, by alluding to this well-known story, the hearers of the dirge would immediately grasp the point the prophet intended to make. Second, the pattern of the Eden story coheres with the form of the dirge, for it also comprises a glorious beginning and a tragic ending.

But the validity of this allusion, however, rests not only on these reasons but also on the comparativeness of the king of Tyre with Adam, for without this concrete element, the allusion would be meaningless. The question, therefore, is "In which points is the king of Tyre comparable to Adam?"

In our earlier survey of the scholars' attempts to trace a mythical background for this dirge, we already noticed that the addressee of this dirge is firstly a king. This is clearly seen in 28:11 where he is thus addressed and in 28:12 where he is attributed with kingly characteristics: signet of perfection,⁷⁷ wisdom and beauty. Now in Genesis 2-3, Adam is surely said to be the first created human being (2:7). But he, as the story continues, is also portrayed as the one who rules over the earth. This is readily observable in his naming the animals of this world (2:19-20).⁷⁸ Like God who exercises His lordship over the universe by naming its parts and its time-divisions (Gen 1:5, 8, 10), Adam is here declaring his dominion over the world by naming the terrestrial animates.⁷⁹ Accompanying this outward manifesto of lordship, Adam's naming involves also the inward reasoning ability, for it is based on this capability that Adam could carry out such a task.⁸⁰ As *Genesis Rabbah* attested, Adam's main characteristic is his wisdom evidenced in his naming the creatures

⁷⁷ The meaning of this item, as noted earlier, is not clear, but the following two elements are obviously descriptions of a king.

⁷⁸ Adam's naming the animals is an exercise of his ruling status granted by God to man in Genesis 1:26-28; see, H. Blocher, *In the Beginning: The Opening Chapters of Genesis*. Trans. D. G. Preston (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity, 1984), 91.

⁷⁹ U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis I* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1978), 130; N. M. Sarna, *Genesis* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 22. For naming as a sign of lordship, see Num 32:38; 2 Kgs 23:34, 24:17; 2 Chr 36:4.

⁸⁰ For the nature and limitation of Adam's wisdom, see M. G. Kline, *Kingdom Prologue* (S. Hamilton: M. G. Kline, 1991), 48-9.

brought before him by God.⁸¹ In terms of origin of mankind, the paradise story of Genesis indeed tells of the creation of the first man Adam, but in terms of his role and character, the story portrays Adam as the king of the world, ruling his domain in wisdom.

Besides being addressed as a king, the king of Tyre is also described as a priest in the dirge. The priestly robe that he wears (28:13),⁸² the holy mountain where he is placed and from where he is then driven out (28:14, 16), and the mentioning of his defiling his sanctuary (28:18) are all the indications of this. Now in Genesis, Adam is said to be placed by God in the garden Eden (2:8). This focal point, to be sure, is the archetype of the later temples.⁸³ (1) It is the place where God presents himself to man, giving ordinance (2:16-17; cf. Ezek 43) and issuing judgment (3:8ff; cf. Ezek 44:4-16).⁸⁴ In a word, the garden Eden, like the later temples, is the site of God's presence. (2) The symbolism of the garden Eden, i.e., as the source of life (2:9-10), is reflected in Psalm 46:4 and in later prophetic writings where Jerusalem or the temple is in view (Ezek 47:1-12; Joel 3:18; Zech 14:8).⁸⁵ In other words, the notion found in these writings that the site of God's presence is the source of life is conceptually derived from the paradise story of Genesis. (3) The characteristics of the garden Eden, namely, a tree-park (2:9) guarded by cherubim after the Fall (3:24), are reflected in the architectural details of the later temples (1 Kgs 6:18, 29, 35; 7:18ff; cf. Ezek 41:18ff).⁸⁶

⁸¹ *Gen. Rab.* XVII:IV.2 (*l.c.*, 183).

⁸² A robe embellished with jewels could possibly interpret as a kingly dress, but the list of gems here points to the priestly robe reported in Exodus 28:17-20; see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 82-4.

⁸³ For Rabbinic views on the connection of Eden with Temple, see *Gen. Rab.* XV:I.3 and XVI:II.4 where the trees (identified as cedars by Ps 104:16) and gold of Eden (Gen 2:9, 11) are said to be planted and created by God for temple building (*l.c.*, 161, 170).

⁸⁴ It is interesting to note that what God has done in Eden is exactly the things He did in Ezekiel's restoration program. For after the returning of the glory of God to the temple (43:1-9) is the giving of the ordinances (43:10ff) and the judgment of the priests who failed to do their duty, i.e., to guard the temple from profanation (44:6-16).

⁸⁵ For details, see A. Weiser, *The Psalms*, trans. H. Hartwell (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 370.

⁸⁶ The echoing of God's acts done in Eden in Ezekiel 43-4, the using of the imageries of trees and river in Ezekiel 47 and the decorating of the restored temple with flora and cherubim in Ezekiel 41 suggest that Genesis 2-3 lie in the background of the prophet's restoration program. This is probably how John perceives it, for one aspect of the eschatological hope of his time is that the first paradise will return at the end of history. For details, see J. Jeremias, "παράδεισος," in *TDNT* 5:766-68.

Being placed at this temple-garden, Adam is then charged with the duties of tilling and guarding (Gen 2:15). This latter duty, i.e., to guard the garden (וּלְשָׁמְרָהּ), is cultic in nature.⁸⁷ This is readily seen in the story, for after Adam failed to drive out the intruder, the serpent, and fell into its deception, this task is then reassigned to the cherubim (3:24).⁸⁸ After the Fall, Adam is still asked to till the ground (3:23),⁸⁹ but this guardianship is no longer his. Like the priests of later time, Adam is here charged with a priestly duty to guard the temple-garden from profanation by unauthorized "strangers" (Num 1:53, 3:8, 10, 32; 8:26, 18:3ff; 1 Sam 7:1; 2 Kgs 12:9; 1 Chr 23:32; 2 Chr 34:9; Ezek 44:15ff, 48:11).⁹⁰ In addition to picturing the first man as a king, the paradise story of Genesis profiles Adam also as a priest, charged with a duty to guard the temple-garden.

In sum, the above analyses show that the king of Tyre is comparable with Adam in two points, i.e., as king and as priest. And it is probably based on these connections that the prophet Ezekiel narrates this dirge as an Edenic kind of story. As Adam who enjoyed the highest honor that a created being could have but fell from that status because of his seeking to be like God, so is the king of Tyre who relished political and religious power but is doomed to fall because of his arrogance (Ezek 28:17; cf. 28:2, 5, 6, 9).⁹¹

Part Two: The Examination of the New Testament Passage

Since all the Revelation passages to be examined in the four case studies of this thesis fall in the last six chapters of the book, it seems proper first of all to give a literary analysis of this block of text before we turn our eyes to Revelation 18, the

⁸⁷ On "to till and to keep," *Gen. Rab.* XVI:V.4.B reads, "This refers to the offerings [in the Temple]: 'You shall serve God upon this mountain' (Ex. 3:21). 'You shall keep [the obligation of] offering to me' (Num. 28:2)." This comment suggests how Adam's tasks were understood in Jewish tradition.

⁸⁸ Notice that the same verb (שָׁמַר) is used here.

⁸⁹ Outside of the garden, of course.

⁹⁰ For details, see M. G. Kline, *Kingdom Prologue*, 54.

⁹¹ If what we have said here is the case, then the differences between the two accounts are not hard to explain. The elements not found in Ezekiel's account, such as the woman, serpent, trees and river, are irrelevant to the point the prophet intended to make, so they are consequently omitted.

text the present chapter is dealing with. The following analysis is offered to show how these six chapters of the book are constructed. This understanding of this part of the book will be proved necessary and germane when we come to detailed case studies in this and the following chapters.⁹²

A Literary Analysis of Revelation 17-22

When the seventh angel pours his bowl of wrath into the air (16:17-21), the serial of the three septets of plague (7 seals, 7 trumpets, and 7 bowls) starting from 6:1 on, comes to an end. The book of Revelation, then, arrives at its climax in 17:1-22:9. Leaving aside the epilogue of the book (22:10-21), these last six chapters of the book, are constructed in three sections, 17:1-19:10, 19:11-21:8, and 21:9-22:9.

First, there are clearly verbal parallelisms between 17:1-3 and 21:9-10, each of which begins a new vision.⁹³

17:1	<u>Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ</u> <u>ἀγγέλων τῶν ἔχόντων τὰς ἑπτὰ</u> <u>φιάλας καὶ ἐλάλησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ</u> <u>λέγων, Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι τὸ</u> <u>κρίμα τῆς πόρνῆς τῆς μεγάλης</u> <u>τῆς καθημένης ἐπὶ ὑδάτων</u> <u>πολλῶν,</u>	21:9	<u>Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ</u> <u>ἀγγέλων τῶν ἔχόντων τὰς ἑπτὰ</u> <u>φιάλας τῶν γεμόντων τῶν ἑπτὰ</u> <u>πληγῶν τῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ ἐλάλησεν</u> <u>μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγων, Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι</u> <u>τὴν νύμφην τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ</u> <u>ἁρνίου.</u>
17:3	<u>καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με εἰς ἔρημον ἐν</u>	21:10	<u>καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με ἐν πνεύματι ἐπὶ</u>

⁹² Admittedly, the structure of the book of Revelation has long been a subject greatly debated among scholars. But concerning the structure of the last six chapters of the book, the scholars' views, especially in the recent years, seem to be coming closer to each other. For a recent and good discussion on the structure of the book, see F. D. Mazzaferri, *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-critical Perspective* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 330-74; where some of the modern and representative views are introduced and assessed, which include that of W. R. Kempson, E. S. Fiorenza, A. Yarbro Collins and J. Lambrecht. For a summary of the views of some important scholars of the first half of this century, see J. W. Bowman, "The Revelation to John: Its dramatic Structure and Message," *Int* 9 (1955), 436-53. For the views before Swete, see his *The Apocalypse*, xlv.

⁹³ The verbal parallels given here and in the next point have been noticed by some scholars in the recent decades. See, e.g., C. H. Giblin, "Structural and Thematic Correlations in the Theology of Revelation 16-22," *Biblica* 55 (1974), 487-504; M. Wilcox, "Tradition and Redaction of Rev. 21, 9-22, 5," in *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*. ed. J. Lambrecht (Gembloux: Duculot, 1980), 205-15; J. -P. Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 238-43; R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993), 4; J. Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 94-95; R. L. Thomas, *Revelation 8-22* (Chicago: Moody, 1995), 569-74; J. R. Michaels, *Revelation* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1997), 191; D. E. Aune, *Revelation 1-5* (Dallas: Word Books, 1997), xcv-xcvii.

πνεύματι. καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκα
καθήμενην ἐπὶ θηρίου κόκκινον,
γέμον[τα] ὀνόματα βλασφημίας,
ἔχων κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ κέρατα
δέκα.

ὄρος μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν, καὶ ἔδειξέν
μοι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν
Ἱερουσαλὴμ καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ

Second, the same phenomenon is also found between 19:9-10 and 22:6-9, each of which concludes a visionary account.

19:9 ... καὶ λέγει μοι, Οὗτοι οἱ
λόγοι ἀληθινοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιν.

19:10 καὶ ἔπεσα ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν
αὐτοῦ προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ.

καὶ λέγει μοι, "Ὁρα μή·
σύνδουλός σου εἰμι καὶ τῶν
ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν
μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ· τῷ θεῷ
προσκύνησον. ἡ γὰρ μαρτυρία
Ἰησοῦ ἐστίν τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς
προφητείας.

22:6 Καὶ εἶπέν μοι, Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι
πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί ...

22:8 ... ἔπεσα προσκυνῆσαι ἔμπροσθεν
τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ
δεικνύοντός μοι ταῦτα.

22:9 καὶ λέγει μοι, "Ὁρα μή·
σύνδουλός σου εἰμι καὶ τῶν
ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν προφητῶν καὶ
τῶν τηρούντων τοὺς λόγους τοῦ
βιβλίου τούτου· τῷ θεῷ
προσκύνησον.

Third, in addition to these verbal parallelisms, the two sections (17:1-19:10; 21:9-22:9) parallel each other with the using of a similar image: the city as woman. One relates how the harlot city, Babylon, falls; the other tells how the bride city, the New Jerusalem, comes down from heaven to replace the sinful and fallen one. This antithetical parallelism between the two passages is further seen in the detailed descriptions of the two cities/women. (1) The former woman is closed with purple and scarlet and adorned with gold and jewels (17:4), while the later is dressed with fine linen (19:7) and decked also with gold and precious stones (21:11, 18-21). (2) Both cities have their own alliances; one with the Beast (17:3) and the other the Lamb (21:9). (3) As a result of their alliances, the former city becomes the dwelling place of demons, foul spirits and hateful birds (18:2), while the latter the dwelling place of God and of the Lamb (21:22, 23). (4) The antithetical parallelism of the two cities is again manifested in their relation to the kings of the earth: the former city

rules over them (17:18), while the latter city receives the glory and honour attributed by the kings of the earth (21:24).

These literary designs and thematic parallelism, therefore, delimit the final six chapters of Revelation, except the epilogue, into a sandwich kind of structure.

- I. The judgment of the great harlot Babylon (17:1-19:10)
- II. The eschatological warfare and judgment (19:11-21:8)
- III. The coming of the bride new Jerusalem (21:9-22:9)

If this layout is correct, two things emerge immediately. First, embraced by the two events, i.e., the judgment of Babylon and the descending of the new Jerusalem, the middle section (19:11-21:9) functions as a transition, leading the thought from judgment to restoration.⁹⁴ This understanding is not just suggested by the structure of these six chapters, but also attested by the content of the texts. (1) The theme concerning the battle between the Beast, upon whom rides the great harlot Babylon, and the Lamb in the first section (17:14) is immediately renewed and expended in the first eleven verses of the middle section (19:11-21).⁹⁵ (2) The motif concerning the descending of the new Jerusalem, which ends the middle section (21:1-8), has become the major theme in the third section. These two connections, hence, suggest that the first and the third sections are intended to be joined by the middle section which transfers the thought of the texts from judgment to restoration.

Second, if the thought in these chapters is moving from the judgment of the great harlot Babylon, no matter who she really is, to the restoration of the bride new Jerusalem, again no matter who she may be,⁹⁶ this transition, then, corresponds to the movement in the second half of the book of Ezekiel, of which we already observed in the earlier part of this chapter, i.e., the judgment of the nations leading to the

⁹⁴ Bauckham, *The Climax*, 5; "Between the two sections... comes a section which must be understood as a single section describing the transition from one to the other."

⁹⁵ Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 241. Different imageries have been employed in 17:14 (the Lamb) and in 19:11-19 (the rider on the white horse), but they have been assigned with the same title, i.e., the king of kings and the lord of lords. This clearly suggests the two eschatological warriors are identical. For this, see T. S. Slater, "'King of Kings and Lord of Lords' Revisited," *NTS* 39 (1993), 159-60; G. K. Beale, "The Origin of the Title 'King of Kings and Lord of Lords' in Revelation 17:14," *NTS* 31 (1985), 618-20.

⁹⁶ The issue concerning the identification of the harlot Babylon and of the bride new Jerusalem, however, will be dealt with, in turn, in the later part of this chapter and in chapter four of this thesis.

restoration of God's people. In other words, the pattern of thought of the final chapters of Revelation compares with that of the second half of Ezekiel. This correspondence can be aligned with another sort of correspondence, i.e., the order of the events in the two texts. For, the judgment of the king Tyre (Ezek 26-28), the destruction of Gog and Magog (Ezek 38-39) and the restoration of Israel (Ezek 40-48), have been respectively alluded to in Relation 18, 19-20 and 21-2. This sort of correspondence is in fact true not only to the two blocks of text in view here, but also to the two books, of which phenomenon we already noted in the first chapter of this thesis.

In sum, the correspondences of thought pattern and of the order of events, therefore, suggest that the last six chapters of Revelation, to a considerable extent, are influenced by the second half of Ezekiel. Obviously this is a general observation, an observation that needs to be sustained by some concrete evidence. This and the next three chapters of this thesis, hopefully, will provide that evidence.

A literary analysis of Revelation 18

Bearing what we have said above in mind, the attention now turns to Revelation 18. This chapter, as already noted, belongs to the first section of the last six chapters of the book (17:1-19:10), a section dealing with the judgment of Babylon. It follows chapter 17,⁹⁷ which begins with the announcement of one of the seven bowl-angels that he will show the seer the judgment of the great harlot (17:1-2). But the texts that follow, however, are the vision proper (17:3-6) and its interpretation (17:7-18). The announced judgment, is not given till chapter 18. In other words, the chapter in view here is what the judgment is about.⁹⁸

In considering the appearance of the angels in verses 1 and 21 and the hearing of the voice from heaven in verse 4, this chapter is composed of three sections: (1) The fall of Babylon announced (vv. 1-3), (2) The fall of Babylon lamented (vv. 4-20), and (3) The fall of Babylon symbolically acted (vv. 21-24).⁹⁹ This division, by

⁹⁷ The "Μετά ταῦτα εἶδον" of 18:1 clearly suggests that a division is made at this point.

⁹⁸ C. Yarbro Collins, "Revelation 18: Taunt-Song or Dirge?" in *L'Apocalypse*, 192; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*. Rev. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 251; W. J. Harrington, *Revelation* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1993), 178; J. R. Michaels, *Revelation*, 191; M. Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940), 337.

and large, is agreed by most scholars of the field, but as to how to understand the second section (vv. 4-20), there seems no consensus. The question is, where does the heavenly voice (v. 4) end? Does it end at verse 8 or at verse 20? On this question, Scholars are of different opinions. R. H. Charles, on the one hand, maintains that the heavenly voice the author heard ends at verse 8. The three dirges that follow are not sung by the heavenly voice but are the author's own words.¹⁰⁰ A. Y. Collins, on the other hand, suggests that "since there is no clear indication in the text of a change of speaker, it seems best to include all of vv. 4-20 in the heavenly speech."¹⁰¹ The three laments, in this reading, are then the prophecy of the heavenly voice. In other words, though the three dirges are uttered from the mouths of the mourners, these dirges are in fact the predictions of the voice from heaven.

Between the two views, Collins' seems more likely to be the case. First, the division markers found in this chapter (vv. 1, 4, 21) suggest that verses 4-20 are to be taken as a literary unit. Second, the two callings, one urging God's people to come out (ἐξέλθατε) of the doomed harlot city (v. 4) and the other encouraging the persecuted saints to rejoice (εὐφραίνου) over the fall of the same entity (v. 20), sustain also such a division. In other words, this literary unit is framed by these two imperatives.¹⁰² Third, the OT background of this chapter supports also such a reading. Now, the emergence of the new characters (i.e., the mourners) and the new genre (i.e., laments) in verses 9-19 seems to suggest that these eleven verses are to be distinguished from the texts before them, but this is found not necessarily true when the OT background is considered. The dirge, to be sure, has its role to play in

⁹⁹ Admittedly, scholars have different opinions on how the chapter is constructed, especially on the relation of verses 4-8 to the texts that follow, but the outline given here is accepted by most scholars. This outline, though simple, is enough for our purpose. For detailed analysis on the structure of this chapter, see Yarbrow Collins, "Revelation 18," 192-97, and the critics made by Ruiz on her analysis (*Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 250-54). See also K. A. Strand, "Two Aspects of Babylon's Judgment Portrayed in Revelation 18," *AUSS* 20 (1982), 53-60; W. H. Shea, "Chiasm in Theme and by Form in Revelation 18," *AUSS* 20 (1982), 249-56; and Bauckham, *The Climax*, 338-42, where Strand and Shea's views are questioned.

¹⁰⁰ *Revelation II*, 87, 100; E.-B. Allo (*Saint Jean: L'Apocalypse* [Paris: Lecoffre, 1921], 289-91) and I. T. Beckwith (*The Apocalypse of John*. Reprinted [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1967], 711-12) hold the same view.

¹⁰¹ "Revelation 18" 193; for further examples, see R. Bauckham (*The Climax*, 340) and R. L. Thomas (*Revelation 8-22*, 327).

¹⁰² Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 411.

funeral, but in the OT, particularly in prophetic writings, it was used as a means to pronounce judgment. An example of this is found in Amos 5:1-2.

Hear this word that I take up over you in lamentation, O house of Israel:
Fallen, no more to rise, is maiden Israel; forsaken on her land, with no one to raise her up.

On these verses G. M. Tucker comments, "one sings such song over the dead, at the funeral. The judgment of the Lord upon Israel is so certain that Amos can already begin funeral. Thus the dirge becomes a very graphic means of announcing judgment."¹⁰³

Even more significant to the understanding of Revelation 18 is the fact that this way of using a dirge is also found in Ezekiel 26-28, the very passage that Revelation 18 heavily relies on.¹⁰⁴ For in that passage we learn, not once but twice, that the laments sung by the princes of the sea (26:17) and by the seamen (27:32) over the fall of Tyre are actually the prophecy of the Lord (26:15 and 27:1-2, respectively).¹⁰⁵ In other words, the Lord's judgment on Tyre is pronounced through the mouths of the princes of the sea and the seamen. Considering this, the emergence of the mourners and dirges in Revelation 18:9-19 should not be taken as a factor for division. The dirges sung by the mourners are actually the judgment of Babylon issued by the voice from heaven (v. 4). The dirges are what John heard from heaven, not his own words. In sum, both Revelation 18 itself and its OT background suggest that verses 4-20 are a literary unit, a heavenly sentence on Babylon.

Having seen how the account of the mourners (vv. 9-19) is to be read in its context, we now turn the focus to the text itself. This block of text, to be sure, is a complex one. In terms of content, it has (1) three dirges which are sung by three groups of mourners: the kings of the earth, the merchants and the seamen (vv. 9-10, 11-13 and 15-17a, 17b-19), and (2) a judgment-saying directly addressed to Babylon (v. 14),¹⁰⁶ which stands in the middle of the second dirge. In terms of grammar, its

¹⁰³ *Form Criticism of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 68. For more examples of this usage, see C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*. Trans. H. C. White (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1991), 202-03.

¹⁰⁴ This will be shown later in the analyses of the structural and verbal parallelisms between Revelation 18 and Ezekiel 26-28.

¹⁰⁵ Hals, *Ezekiel*, 187, 192.

¹⁰⁶ Note the use of the second person singular "σου" in this verse.

tenses shift from the future (κλαύσουσιν καὶ κόψονται, vv. 9-10), to the present (κλαίουσιν καὶ πενθοῦσιν, vv. 11-13), to the aorist (ἀπῆλθεν and ἀπώλετο, v. 14), to the future (στήσουνται, vv. 15-17a), and to the aorist (ἔστησαν, v. 17b; ἔβαλον, v. 19). We have, therefore, two difficulties, at least, in this account: the sudden change of perspective in verse 14 and the shifting of the tenses.

On the first difficulty, I. Provan points out that the change of addressee is common in OT lamentations and represents an aspect of the dramatic art of the genre.¹⁰⁷ "Indeed," he says, "the artfulness of vv. 13-14 taken together seems evident in the clever play that we find there on the Greek *psyche*, the first in v. 13 speaking of the human soul as merchandise and the second in v. 14 describing the deprivation of merchandise *for which* the human soul had longed."¹⁰⁸ The insight Provan offered is in accord with my observation given above that the mourners' account (vv. 9-19) is part of the speech of the heavenly voice (v. 4), which addresses the people of God in verses 4-13, then turns to Babylon in verse 14 and then comes back to the same audience in verses 15-19. What we have here is just a change of addressees, not a corruption of text.¹⁰⁹

As to the shifting of tenses in these verses, R. Bauckham's explanation is tenable and in agreement with my observation mentioned above. "The future tenses in vv. 9-10, 15 make clear that the account of mourners is prediction; the vividness of the scene accounts for the present and past tenses in vv. 11, 14, 17-19."¹¹⁰ The shifting of tenses, hence, poses no difficulty to the understanding of the passage.

If these "discrepancies" stand out for themselves, which, for some, suggest redaction or even corruption, attention, then, must also be given to the element of coherence which suggests unity. The triple use of dirge as a means of judgment in

¹⁰⁷ "Foul Spirit, Fornication and Finance: Revelation 18 from an Old Testament Perspective," *JSNT* 64 (1996), 84.

¹⁰⁸ *Idem.*, note 10.

¹⁰⁹ R. H. Charles, *Revelation II*, 105. For more examples of changing of addressee in the book of Revelation, see 13:9-10, 18; 14:12; 16:15.

¹¹⁰ *The Climax*, 340-41; for a similar view, see Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 263. See also J. Fekkes (*Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 213, note 54), where he suggests "the interchange of tenses and persons of verbs which at first seems puzzling to the reader of Rev. 18 is also a feature of prophetic oracles against the nations. Note especially Jer. 50-51, which contain a mixture of past, present and future verbs, second and third person declarations, and includes direct exhortations to God's people (50.8, 51.9; Rev. 18.4-5) and interjections of rejoicing (51.48; Rev. 18.20)."

this account, firstly, creates an impression of formal unity to the readers. This impression is then reinforced by the repetition of phraseology. This includes the use of (1) "κλαίουσιν καὶ πενθοῦσιν" and its variants in verses 11, 15, 19 (cf. also vv. 7, 8, 9), (2) "μιᾷ ὥρᾳ" in verses 10, 17, 19 (cf. also v. 8), (3) "τὸν καπνὸν τῆς πυρώσεως αὐτῆς" in verses 9, 18, (4) "ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἑστηκότες" and its variants in verses 10, 15, 17, (5) "διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῆς" in verses 10, 15, and (6) "Οὐαὶ οὐαὶ" in verses 10, 16, 19. This technique, in Collins' words, provides "a rhythmic unity without being mechanically repetitive."¹¹¹ These phrases, therefore, are the links that interlock the passage.

A comparison of Revelation 18 with Ezekiel 26-28

In the above analyses we already noticed that Revelation 18 compares with Ezekiel 26-28 in two points: its placement in its own context and the literary technique (i.e., the using of dirge as a means for judgment). These positional and technical correspondences, however, are not the only analogies that it has to Ezekiel 26-28. First, Revelation 18 compares to the Ezekielian passage in that it contains the same number of dirges, i.e., three. Second, these three dirges are sung by, respectively, the kings of the earth, the merchants, and the seamen, which correspond to the three groups of mourners mentioned in Ezekiel 26-28, i.e., the princes of the sea (26:16-18),¹¹² the merchants (27:12-24), and the seamen (27:25-36). In other words, the three groups of mourners in Revelation are introduced in the order they appeared in Ezekiel, though the merchants of Ezekiel did not sing a dirge over the fall of Tyre. These analogies, therefore, suggest that the dirges in Revelation 18, to some extent, are structurally paralleled to the lamentations in Ezekiel 26-28.

In addition to these correspondences, Revelation 18 reflects, verbally, Ezekiel 26-28. The following eight case studies are illustrations of this. These cases are

¹¹¹ Collins, "Revelation 18," 199.

¹¹² Obviously this group of mourners does not correspond, exactly, to John's group, "the kings of the earth." But this alternation is not hard to explain. First, Tyre in its own context has been metaphorically portrayed as a state ship (Ezekiel 27). Her alliances, as a result, are naturally "the princes of the sea." The harlot Babylon, on the other hand, is an entity sitting on the seven hills (17:6). Her alliances are therefore "the kings of the earth." Second, in the book of Revelation, the title "the kings of the earth" has been assigned for the entity against the divine, thus for consistency, it is here employed for "the princes of the sea."

arranged in accordance with their appearances in the book of Revelation. Each case has been assigned with a case number, which is constituted by a capital R and a numerical number. The capital R stands for Revelation and the number for the chapter of the book in which the case is found. If more than one case is found in a particular chapter, a serial number will be added to it so to distinguish one from the others. Case R18-1, for example, means that the case in view is the first case found in Revelation 18 which concerns a certain verbal allusion between Revelation and Ezekiel.¹¹³ In each case the verbal similarities between Revelation and the LXX (or Theodotion in one case) are underlined; and the paralleled words between Revelation and the MT are made bold.

Case R18-1 (Ezek 26:17 in Rev 18:10)

Rev 18:10b	Ezek 26:17 (LXX)	Ezek 26:17 (MT)
<p>ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη, Βαβυλῶν <u>ἡ πόλις</u> ἡ ἰσχυρά</p>	<p>ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐπαινεστή</p>	<p>הָעִיר הַהִלְלָה אֲשֶׁר הָיְתָה חֲזָקָה בָּיָם</p>

A glance at the texts listed above is enough for us to notice that the Revelation text comes closer to that of the MT than that of the LXX, because the characteristic of Ezekiel's city, i.e., mighty (חֲזָקָה), is reflected in John's (ἰσχυρός), which is not rendered in the LXX.¹¹⁴ The reason for John to omit הַהִלְלָה (renowned)¹¹⁵ is uncertain, yet such character is surely implied in the description of Babylon from chapter 17 on. The reason to omit בָּיָם (on the sea), on the other hand, is more certain. For such phrase is not applicable to the city Babylon situated on seven hills (Rev 17:9), but perfectly suitable for the city Tyre which was metaphorically portrayed as a mighty ship (Ezek 27:1-9).

Case R18-2 (Ezek 27:12-25 in Rev 18:12-13)

Rev 18:12	Ezek (LXX)	Ezek (MT)
<p>γόμον χρυσοῦ</p>	<p>χρυσίου (27:22)</p>	<p>זָהָב (27:22)</p>

¹¹³ This practice will be carried through in the thesis.
¹¹⁴ The entire phrase, אֲשֶׁר הָיְתָה חֲזָקָה בָּיָם (once mighty on the sea, Ezek 26: 17), is in fact omitted in the LXX.
¹¹⁵ The MT accents הַהִלְלָה as perfect, yet "it is better taken as a pual ptcp (participle) without a preformative *mem*." Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 72, note 17b; see also *BDB*, 238.

καὶ ἄργύρου	ἀργύριον (27:12)	כֶּסֶף (27:12)
καὶ <u>λίθου</u> τιμίου	<u>λίθων</u> χρηστῶν (27:22)	אֲבֹן יָקָר (27:22)
καὶ μαργαριτῶν		
καὶ βυσσίνου		בִּיץ (27:16)
καὶ πορφύρας		אַרְנָמָן (27:16)
καὶ σιρικοῦ		
καὶ κοκκίνου		
καὶ πᾶν ξύλον θύϊνον		
καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος <u>ἐλεφάντινον</u>	<u>ἐλεφαντίνους</u> (27:15)	שֵׁן (27:15)
καὶ <u>πᾶν σκεῦος</u>		
ἐκ ξύλου τιμιωτάτου		
καὶ <u>χαλκου</u>	<u>σκεύη χαλκᾶ</u> (27:13)	כְּלִי נְחֹשֶׁת (27:13)
καὶ <u>σιδήρου</u>	<u>σίδηρον</u> (27:12)	בְּרִזָּל (27:12)
	<u>σίδηρος</u> (27:19)	בְּרִזָּל עֲשׂוֹת (27:19)
καὶ μαρμάρου		
Rev 18:13		
καὶ κιννάμωμον		
καὶ ἄμωμον		
καὶ θυμιάματα		
καὶ <u>μύρον</u>	<u>μύρων</u> (27:17)	צָרִי (27:17)
καὶ λίβανον		
καὶ <u>οἶνον</u>	<u>οἶνος</u> (27:18)	יַיִן (27:18)
	<u>οἶνον</u> (27:19)	
καὶ <u>έλαιον</u>	<u>ἐλαιον</u> (27:17)	שֶׁמֶן (27:17)
καὶ σεμίδαλιν		
καὶ <u>σίτον</u>	<u>σίτου</u> (27:17)	חִטָּה (27:17)
καὶ <u>κτήνη</u>	<u>κτηνῶν</u> (27:20)	
καὶ πρόβατα		כֶּבֶד, אֵיל or עֲתוּד (27:21)
καὶ <u>ἵππων</u>	<u>ἵππους</u> (27:14)	פָּרָשִׁים (27:14)
καὶ ῥεδῶν		
καὶ σωμάτων		
καὶ <u>ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων</u>	<u>ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων</u> (27:13)	נַפְשׁ אָדָם (27:13)

Two things need to be noted here. First, of the fifteen verbal correspondences between Revelation and the LXX, three of them require further attention. The first is the first item in Revelation's cargo list, i.e., the gold. For, while Revelation renders χρυσοῦ for כֶּסֶף, the LXX gives χρυσίον, a synonym of χρυσός, for the same Hebrew word. A similar picture is also found in the second item of Revelation's list; here ἄργυρος is offered for אֲבֹן יָקָר, whereas the LXX renders ἀργύριον, a synonym of ἄργυρος, for the identical Hebrew. The third item of the same list needs attention

also. Here λίθου τιμίου is given for יִקְרָה אֶבֶן, whereas the LXX renders λίθων χρηστῶν. Strictly speaking, these three references should not be classified as verbal parallels, for different words have been used. Taking off these three problematic references, we then have 12 references made in Revelation 18:12-13 to the LXX of Ezekiel 27:12-25.

Second, of the 29 cargoes in Revelation 18:12-13, 16 of them are found in the MT of Ezekiel 27:12-25. Among these 16 items, three of them caught our attention. The first two are בִּיץ and אֶרְגָּמָן (Ezek 27:16) which are in turn rendered as βύσσινος and πορφύρα in the Apocalypse but not found in the LXX. The third is כָּר (or אֵיל or עֲתוֹד, Ezek 27:21) which is a more complicated one. The three items in Ezekiel 27:21, כָּר, אֵיל, and עֲתוֹד, are translated in the LXX as κάμηλος, κριός, and ἄμνός, but πρόβατον is the word used in Revelation. No case for verbal parallel, therefore, exists between the Apocalypse and the LXX, but a potential reference stands between Revelation and the MT if πρόβατον is the word for one of the three Hebrew terms. If we take this potential reference off, 15 then is the number of the references between Revelation and the MT. In comparing the relation of the Apocalypse to the LXX, the weight of evidence seems to suggest that Revelation 18:12-13 is more likely relying on the MT than on the LXX. This is explicitly attested by the two instances, in which the two items (בִּיץ and אֶרְגָּמָן) are picked up by the Apocalypse but do not even appear in the LXX.

If this is the case, the above textual comparison shows that more than a half of John's cargoes are found in Ezekiel's list. This phenomenon could suggest, as some think,¹¹⁶ an influence of Ezekiel on Revelation, but this event could also be interpreted as a coincidence on the basis that correspondences are easily found between any two extended ancient cargo lists. This later interpretation is even more true when one observes that the goods in the two lists are listed by different principles. In Ezekiel's list geography is the guideline because the merchandises are listed under the names of Tyre's trading partners (27:12-24),¹¹⁷ while in John's

¹¹⁶ E.g., Charles, *Revelation II*, 103; Thomas, *Revelation 8-22*, 330.

¹¹⁷ On this, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 70-71; Hals, *Ezekiel*, 193-94; Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, 565-67.

inventory the cargoes are given according to their types.¹¹⁸ Based solely on these verbal parallels, one must therefore conclude that the evidence does not support a particular interpretation.

However, the allusion of Revelation to Ezekiel in this case is not to be learned from these verbal contacts. In the above analysis we already noted that Revelation 18 compares with Ezekiel 26-28 in that it also uses dirges as means for announcing judgment. Now in Ezekiel's second dirge, we find the cargo list, which creates, as noted, some difficulties to the text. But this cargo list, as it stands in the dirge, serves nonetheless as an illustration of the past beauty and wealth of Tyre (cf. 27:3, 4, 11, 25),¹¹⁹ which is lamented when her devastating future is revealed (27:25-36). This using of a cargo list in a dirge finds echo in Revelation 18, for here we find also in the second dirge of the chapter a cargo list, serving as an example to demonstrate the past beauty and wealth of Babylon, who is mourned when her desolated future is decreed (Rev 18:15-17).¹²⁰ In addition to employing dirges as means to issue judgments, we learn from this case that a particular literary technique used in Ezekiel 27 has been closely followed in Revelation 18. "No doubt it was Ezekiel's list which suggested the idea of a list of cargoes."¹²¹

Case R18-3 (Ezek 28:13 in Rev 18:16)

Rev 18:16	Ezek 28:13 (LXX)	Ezek 28:13 (MT)
... ἡ περιβεβλημένη βύσσινον καὶ πορφυροῦν καὶ κόκκινον καὶ κεχρυσωμένηκαὶ ἐν χρυσίῳ λίθῳ τιμίῳ καὶ μαργαρίτῃ,	... πᾶν <u>λίθον</u> χρηστὸν ἐνδέδεσαι σάρδιον καὶ τοπάζιον καὶ σμάραγδον καὶ ἄνθρακα καὶ καὶ σάπφειρον καὶ ἴασπιν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον καὶ λιγύριον καὶ ἀχάτην καὶ ἀμέθυστον καὶ	... כָּל-אֶבֶן יָקָרָה מִסַּכְתָּךְ אֲדָם פִּטְרָה וַיְהִלֵּם תְּרִשִּׁישׁ שָׁהֵם וַיִּשְׁפָּה סִפִּיר נָפֶדַךְ וּבְרָקָתָהּ וַיִּזְהַב מְלֹאכֶת תְּפִיד וַיִּקְבְּדֵךְ בָּדָךְ ...

¹¹⁸ John's cargoes are listed in the following order: (1) precious metals and gems, (2) fabrics, (3) ornamental pieces, (4) aromatic materials, (5) foods, and (6) animals and men. Each of these categories contains four to six items.

¹¹⁹ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 87.

¹²⁰ Notice that some items in the cargo list, particular those most appropriate for the imagery of the harlot, have been echoed in verse 16, which include fine linen, purple and scarlet clothes, gold, jewels, and pearls. For the dynamics of this cargo list in its context, see Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 433-40.

¹²¹ Bauckham, *The Climax*, 350.

χρυσόλιθον καὶ βηρύλλιον
καὶ ὀνύχιον καὶ χρυσίου
ἐνέπλησας τοὺς θησαυρούς
σου καὶ τὰς ἀποθήκας σου ...

After the introductory formula, that is, the twofold interjection (οὐαί) and the exclamation (ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη), which are found in all three dirges of Revelation 18 (vv. 10, 16, 19), the merchants continue to lament the ruin of Babylon with the words listed above. Unlike the kings of the earth who addressed Babylon as "the mighty city" (18:10), the merchants here named her, appropriately, the city luxuriously dressed and adorned with costly ornaments. As UBS³ suggests,¹²² this way of describing Babylon recalls Ezekiel 28:13 where the king of Tyre was portrayed as one who was adorned with all sort of jewels (cf. the correspondences of ἡ περιβεβλημένη to מְכַסֶּה;¹²³ χρυσίω to כֶּהָן, and λίθω τιμίω to יָקָר: אֶבֶן).¹²⁴ The influence of Ezekiel on Revelation, however, is further seen in what follows: after the reminiscences of Babylon's past richness and glory, which is what we have here, the merchants continue to lament on what Babylon is to experience: ὅτι μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ἡρημώθη ὁ τοσοῦτος πλοῦτος (For in one hour all this wealth has been laid waste, v. 17a). By contrasting then and now, the typical format of dirges used in Ezekiel (cf. 26:17-18; 27:32b-36, 28:12-19) is followed.¹²⁵ Adoption, however, does not necessarily mean reduplication. Thus the long list of jewels in the account of

¹²² This is one of the instances where UBS³ and NA²⁶ disagree with each other concerning whether there is an allusion or not in a given text.

¹²³ The exact meaning of מְכַסֶּה is uncertain. It could mean "your covering" which leads to the thought of precious garment, as Zimmerli suggests (*Ezekiel* 2, 82; see also Allen, *Ezekiel* 20-48, 91). Following this line of thought, "You wore precious stones of every kind," and "Of precious stones of every kind was your garment," are in turn rendered by Zimmerli and Allen for the first clause of Ezekiel 28:13. This term, on the other hand, could mean "hedge" or "fence," if it is derived from כָּסָה (to hedge, fence in, or enclose). In this sense, "Of precious stones of every kind were your fence," is what the text means. In either case, however, the term under discussion could be the corresponding word for ἡ περιβεβλημένη. For, interestingly and accidentally, the Greek word conveys, in a loose sense, both meanings as the Hebrew does. That is, the literal meaning of the Greek word is "to throw up a rampart or hedge around," but was mainly used in the sense of "to wear" or "to dress up" when it applies to man.

¹²⁴ The LXX's rendering of λίθον χρυστὸν ἐνδένδεσαι for מְכַסֶּה יָקָר: אֶבֶן has not been followed in Revelation. This suggests that the MT is the source for John.

¹²⁵ See Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 453; where the case under discussion is the use of Ezek 27:33 in Rev 18:19b.

Ezekiel is shortened here, for the richness and luxury of Babylon is already manifested in the long cargo list (Rev 18:12-13). A list of a few items, hence, is enough for the present purpose.¹²⁶

Case R18-4 (Ezek 27:28-29 in Rev 18:17b)

Rev 18:17b	Ezek 27:28-29 (LXX)	Ezek 27:28-29 (MT)
(1) πᾶς κυβερνήτης	οἱ κυβερνήται σου	כל חבלי ¹²⁷
(2) πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων	πάντες οἱ κωπηλάται σου	כל תפשי משי
(3) ναῦται	οἱ ἐπιβάται	מלחים ¹²⁸
(4) ὅσοι τὴν θάλασσαν ἐργάζονται	οἱ πρωρεῖς τῆς θαλάσσης	כל חבלי הים

In terms of degree, four kinds of verbal contact are found in this case. (1) In the instance of κυβερνήτης, Revelation exactly parallels the LXX and the MT. (2) In the case of πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων, Revelation differs totally from both the LXX and the MT.¹²⁹ (3) As to the case of ναῦται, Revelation parallels to the MT but not to the LXX.¹³⁰ (4) In the last instance, the wordings of Revelation is closer to that of the MT than to that of the LXX.¹³¹ This then suggests that the MT is more likely to be the text for Revelation. These verbal contacts, on the other hand, suggest also that by having four groups of mourners to lament the fall of Babylon, the author of

¹²⁶ The two items, πορφύρα and κόκκινος, which are also worn by the harlot of Revelation 17 (v. 4), serves, on the other hand, as one of the indicators that the image of the great harlot described in Revelation 17 is still working here.

¹²⁷ This term appears also in the same chapter verse 8 and verse 27, and in both cases it is also rendered in the LXX as κυβερνήται. But in verse 29, the same term is rendered as πρωρεύς. The LXX is not consistent in this matter.

¹²⁸ This term is also found in the same chapter verse 9 and verse 27. In both instances, the LXX renders κωπηλάται.

¹²⁹ Concerning the textual variances on the phrase, ὁ ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων, it is interesting to note that none of the variant readings, as listed in Hoskier's book and in NA²⁶, come close to the wordings in the LXX. For a discussion of the meaning of this difficult phrase, see Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 446-48.

¹³⁰ According to Liddell and Scott (*An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889], 288), οἱ ἐπιβάται could be either the soldiers on board ship, as opposed to the rowers and seamen, or the merchants on board ship. If Liddell and Scott is correct, then the LXX mis-renders the οἱ ἐπιβάται for ἡγήται.

¹³¹ πρωρεύς, according to Liddell and Scott (ibid., 706), refers to the officer in command at the bow, thus the look-out man. In a loose sense, it could be rendered as pilot, as L. C. L. Brenton has (*The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, 1851). But the term used in the MT is a more general term for those who work on the sea, thus the meaning of the phrase in Revelation comes closer to that of the MT.

Revelation encourages his readers to recall Ezekiel 27:28-29, where the ancient commercial city Tyre was lamented by the seamen who also appeared in four groups.

Case R18-5 (Ezek 27:32b in Rev 18:18b)

Rev 18:18b	Ezek 27:32b (Theodotion) ¹³²	Ezek 27:32b (MT)
Τίς ὁμοία τῇ πόλει	τίς ὥσπερ Τύρος	מִי כְצוֹר כְּדָמָה ¹³³
τῇ μεγάλῃ		בְּחֹף הַיָּם

"What city was like the great city?" the exclamation of the seamen on the destruction of Babylon, comes probably from the first phrase of the dirge sung by the seafarers on the fall of Tyre. Strictly speaking, the evidence is not enough to sustain a case of allusion. For here we have only an interrogative pronoun (Τίς) and an adjective (ὁμοία) corresponding to the interrogative (מִי) and the preposition (כ). But the place of the exclamation in both dirges and the rhetorical manner of the two phrases add weight to the case. John here, then, is probably adopting the rhetorical design used in Ezekiel and substituted τῇ πόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ¹³⁴ for Tyre to meet his own need. Since the LXX omits the entire phrase, this case has been included by Vanhoye among his evidence for John's use of the MT of Ezekiel.¹³⁵

Case R18-6 (Ezek 27:30 in Rev 18:19a)

Rev 18:19a	Ezek 27:30 (LXX)	Ezek 27:30 (MT)
καὶ ἔβαλον χοῦν ἐπὶ	καὶ ἀλαλάξουσιν ἐπὶ σέ	וְהִשְׁמִיעוּ עָלֶיךָ בְּקוֹלָם וַיִּזְעֻקוּ
<u>τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν</u>	τῇ φωνῇ αὐτῶν καὶ	מָרָה וַיַּעֲלוּ עֶפְרַיִם עַל-רָאשֵׁיהֶם
<u>καὶ ἔκραζον κλαίοντες</u>	<u>κεκράζονται</u> πικρὸν καὶ	בְּאֶפְרַיִם יִתְפַּלְשׁוּ:
καὶ πειθοῦντες	ἐπιθήσουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν	
	<u>κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν</u> γῆν καὶ	Ezek 27:31b (MT)
	σποδὸν ὑποστρώσονται	וּבָכוּ אֵלֶיךָ בְּמַרְנָפֶשׁ מִסִּפְדַּר מָרָה

¹³² R. H. Charles, *Revelation I*, lxxv.

¹³³ The meaning of this word is uncertain. נדמה has been postulated either in the sense of "was likened" or of "was destroyed" (see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 52). In the former sense, the phrase means "Who was like Tyre in the midst on the sea?" and in the later "Who was destroyed as Tyre in the midst of the sea?" Allen (*Ezekiel* 20-48, 83, note 32b), following Dahood, rendered the term as "like the fortress." Thus the phrase means "Who was like Tyre, like the fortress in the middle of the sea?" But whatever the original text might be, the first two words of this phrase are enough for us to suspect the influence of Ezekiel on Revelation in this particular place.

¹³⁴ This phrase is consistently used by John to designate Babylon (Rev 16:19; 17:18; 18:10, 16, 19).

¹³⁵ A. Vanhoye, "L'utilisation," 447.

Of the four mourning gestures performed by the seafarers of Ezekiel, i.e., sprinkling dust on their heads, rolling in ashes, shaving themselves bald, and wearing sackcloth (Ezek 27: 30b-31a), only the first gesture is employed in John's account. Obviously Revelation here does not follow the LXX, for it independently renders ἔβαλον and χοῦν for וַיַּעֲלֻ עָפָר. The closeness of Revelation to the MT is also observed by Vanhoye who indicates that since κλαίοντες and πενθοῦντες are inspired by the phrase, וַיִּכְבּוּ אֵלֶיךָ בְּמַרְ-נַפֶּשׁ מִסֵּפֶד מָר (they will weep over you with anguish of soul and with bitter mourning, Ezek 27:31b), and since they are not rendered in the LXX,¹³⁶ John, therefore, in this instance, is relying on the MT.¹³⁷ Vanhoye's observation on John's reliance on the MT is correct, but to say that κλαίοντες and πενθοῦντες are inspired by the phrase given above is only partially right. In the account of Ezekiel, the phrase cited above is not the only one that expresses the remorse of the seamen on the fall of Tyre. In the verse before it we read: וַיִּשָּׂאוּ אֵלֶיךָ בְּנִיָּהֶם קִינָה וְקוֹנְנוּ עָלֶיךָ (they will raise their voice and cry bitterly over you, v. 30a); and in the verse after it, we have: וַיִּשָּׂאוּ אֵלֶיךָ בְּנִיָּהֶם קִינָה וְקוֹנְנוּ עָלֶיךָ (and they wail and mourn over you, they will take up a lament concerning you, v. 32a).¹³⁸ In other words, the point the author intended to make in these three verses is the intensity of the grief that the mariners have on the fall of Tyre. Not only does he make them to perform four sorts of mourning gesture, but he also repeatedly puts tears in their eyes. In this regard, κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες is in fact the catchphrase for the entire mariners account (Ezek 27:26-36). By using it, the intense grief that characterizes the Ezekielian account is transferred to the Revelation passage. And this is probably the reason why John uses this catchphrase as "the constant refrain"¹³⁹ in all three dirges of Revelation 18 (vv. 11, 15 19).¹⁴⁰ For the emotional strength conveyed in this phrase is also suitable for the kings and the merchants who have been greatly affected by the fall of Babylon.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ The entire Ezekiel 27:31 is, in fact, lacking in the LXX.

¹³⁷ Vanhoye, "L'utilisation," 438.

¹³⁸ The LXX renders οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν for בְּנִיָּהֶם. See Zimmerli (*Ezekiel* 2, 52) and Allen (*Ezekiel* 20-48, 83, note 32a) for a detailed comment on this.

¹³⁹ Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 451.

¹⁴⁰ The phrase in verse 11 is in verb form.

Case R18-7 (Ezek 26:21 in Rev 18:21b)

Rev 18:21b	Ezek 26:21 (LXX)	Ezek 26:21 (MT)
Οὕτως ὁρμήματι βληθήσεται Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρεθῇ ἔτι	ἀπώλειάν σε δώσω καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρξεις ἔτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα λέγει κύριος κύριος	בְּלִהוֹת אֶתְנֶךָ וְאֵינְךָ וְתִבְקָשִׁי וְלֹא תִמְצָאִי עוֹד לְעוֹלָם נָאִם אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה׃

Having cast a stone into the sea, the mighty angel says that "with such violence Babylon the great city will be thrown down, and will be found no more" (Rev 18:21). This last phrase, καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρεθῇ ἔτι, in Vanhoye's opinion, is one of the instances where the Apocalypse follows the exact wordings of Ezekiel (MT).¹⁴² This case, therefore, has been classified by him in the category of "fidèle,"¹⁴³ which is composed of those most certain allusions. The relation of this phrase to Ezekiel 26-28 as a whole, however, is not limited to verbal parallelism. Something deeper is involved in this case. In order to see this more clearly, we need to go back to Ezekiel.

Taking the prophetic word formula (הָיָה דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר) Ezek 26:1, 27:1, 28:1, 11) as a clue, Ezekiel 26-28:19 is indeed constructed in the following way, as R. M. Hals suggested:¹⁴⁴

I.	A collection of brief prophecies against Tyre	26:1-21
II.	A dirge over the great ship Tyre	27:1-36
III.	A prophecy against the pride of the king of Tyre	28:1-11
IV.	A mythical dirge over the king of Tyre	28:11-19

But as Hals himself also observed, if one follows the concluding refrain found in 26:21, 27:36, and 28:19,¹⁴⁵ the same passage could also be seen as a composition of three sections, 26:1-21, 27:1-36, and 28:1-19. In other words, the three chapters

¹⁴¹ The other "constant refrain," Οὐαὶ οὐαὶ, also attests the deepest grief that the mourners have, see verses 10, 16, 19.

¹⁴² Vanhoye, "L'utilisation," 438.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 476.

¹⁴⁴ *Ezekiel*, 184.

¹⁴⁵ "בְּלִהוֹת אֶתְנֶךָ וְאֵינְךָ וְתִבְקָשִׁי וְלֹא תִמְצָאִי עוֹד לְעוֹלָם נָאִם אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה" (I will bring you to a dreadful end, and you shall be no more; though sought for, you will never be found again, says the Lord God, 26:21), is the full version of this refrain, which has been shortened in 27:36 and 28:19 as "בְּלִהוֹת הָיִיתָ וְאֵינְךָ עוֹד־לְעוֹלָם" (you have come to a dreadful end and shall be no more forever).

which relate the judgment of God upon Tyre are equally concluded by the same judgment saying, "you will be found no more." In this regard, the phrase used in Revelation reflects, not just verbally but thematically, all these three chapters. This connection is even more true when we observe that the concluding section of Revelation 18 (vv. 21-24) is characterized by the theme of "no more." Following the announcement of verse 21 that Babylon is to be found no more, Revelation 18:22-3 reads: "The sound of harpists and minstrels and of flutists and trumpeters will be heard in you no more; and an artisan of any trade will be found in you no more; and the sound of the millstone will be heard in you no more; and the light of a lamp will shine in you no more; and the voice of bridegroom and bride will be heard in you no more." In view of this, it is likely that John here not just follows the words of Ezekiel, but adopts the pattern of his source to conclude his message.

Case R18-8 (Ezek 26:13 in Rev 18:22¹⁴⁶)

Rev 18:22	Ezek 26:13 (LXX)	Ezek 26:13 (MT)
καὶ φωνὴ κιθαρῳδῶν καὶ μουσικῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν <u>οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ</u> ἐν σοι <u>ἔτι</u> , καὶ πᾶς τεχνίτης πάσης τέχνης οὐ μὴ εὕρεθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι, καὶ φωνὴ μύλου <u>οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ</u> ἐν σοι <u>ἔτι</u>	καὶ καταλύσει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μουσικῶν σου καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τῶν ψαλτηρίων σου <u>οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἔτι</u>	וְהַשְׁבִּיתִי הַמִּזְרָן שִׁירָיָךְ וְקוֹל כְּנֹרֶיךָ <u>לֹא יִשְׁמַע עוֹד</u>

The phrase οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι appears twice in Revelation 18:22 and once in 18:23. It corresponds to οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἔτι of the LXX and to לֹא יִשְׁמַע עוֹד of the MT, except that ἐν σοὶ has been added to it. This addition, in Ruiz's view, is a logical one.¹⁴⁷ For, as Babylon is no more to be found (v. 21), the sound of music played by the four groups of musicians is reasonably not to be heard "ἐν σοι"¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Isaiah 24:8 is also a possible source for Revelation 18:22, where the MT and the LXX in turn read: וְהָיָה שִׁשְׁתֵּי יָמִים תִּשְׁכָּח מִשְׁכָּח הַמִּזְרָן וְהָיָה קוֹל כְּנֹרֶיךָ וְהָיָה קוֹל חֲלִילֶיךָ וְהָיָה קוֹל זָמֶרֶךָ וְהָיָה קוֹל טֹבֵלֶיךָ וְהָיָה קוֹל נָחֶלֶךָ וְהָיָה קוֹל שֶׁבַע מִשְׁכָּח (The mirth of the timbrels is stilled, the noise of the jubilant has ceased, the mirth of the lyre is stilled), and πέπαυται εὐφροσύνη τυμπάνων πέπαυται αὐθάδεια καὶ πλοῦτος ἀσεβῶν πέπαυται φωνὴ κιθάρας. Yet the context and the verbal similarities seem to favor Ezekiel 26:13 (see Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 471).

¹⁴⁷ *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 472.

¹⁴⁸ This explanation is also suitable for the other four ἐν σοὶ found in these two verses (vv. 22-23).

when she is being directly addressed. Ruiz is also correct in pointing out that there is an analogy of shifting persons in both texts. In Ezekiel 26:8-12 the third person, which refers to the troops of Nebuchadrezzar who are Yahweh's agents of punishment, shifts to the second person in verses 13-14 when Yahweh directly speaks to Tyre regarding what damage she will suffer. The third person in Revelation 18:21, where Babylon is spoken of by the angel as the object of judgment, shifts also to second person when she is being directly addressed about what afflictions she will experience.¹⁴⁹ The lyre solo in Ezekiel, however, has been expanded here to a symphony performed by a band which is composed of four kinds of musicians.¹⁵⁰

To sum up, the above examinations show that Revelation 18 relies, heavily, on Ezekiel 26-28. First, like the Ezekielian account in its own context, Revelation 18 stands, in its own context, as a part of the judgment message which is to be followed by the message of restoration. In other words, like its source, it pairs the judgment of the worldly power with the restoration of God's people, the two elements that constitute the whole picture. In short, Revelation follows the thought pattern of its antecedent. Second, Revelation 18 parallels structurally with the Ezekielian passage, for it contains also three dirges and three groups of mourners. Third, in terms of literary technique, Revelation 18 also closely follows Ezekiel because it also uses dirges and a cargo list as means to formulate its message of judgment. Fourth, as our above eight cases showed, Revelation also verbally echoes its antecedent. This sort of correspondence, however, is not done in a fixed manner. At places Revelation follows the exact wordings of Ezekiel (mostly the MT), while in other instances it only partially follows its source and substitutes the texts that are suitable to its own need. On some occasions it abridges its source for that abridgment is enough for its purpose. This is what we have seen in case R18-6, where the intensity of the distress of the mourners is shortened into a catchphrase and repeatedly used in all three dirges. In other cases, Revelation extends the material of its source to fit the historical context of its days.¹⁵¹ In case R18-7, the author's adopting the refrain used

¹⁴⁹ Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 472.

¹⁵⁰ For μουσικός as singer, see Charles, *Revelation II*, 109-110; TDNT 2: 444; Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 239.

in all three dirges of Ezekiel and properly placing it at the end of his own judgment oracles as conclusion indicates not only his familiarity with the source but also his creativeness. For the state pictured by the phrase "to be found no more" not only summarizes what has been uttered in the foregoing sayings, but also paves the way for the descending of the Bride, the New Jerusalem: everything that was a source of pride in the old world is to be found no more in the new, except the fully adorned bride (Rev 21:9-22:9).

These varied ways of using its source, therefore, illustrate how the allusions are made in Revelation 18 to Ezekiel 26-28. But what light does this literary relationship shed on the understanding of Revelation 18? It is to this question we now turn.

Part Three:
The Implication of John's Use of Ezekiel
for the Understanding of Revelation 18

In the above analysis we already noticed that Revelation 18 follows Ezekiel 26-28 in that it also employs dirges to formulate its message. This relation, as noted also, advances the suggestion that the three dirges are not to be read as John's own words, but as the prophecy of the voice from heaven heard by the author. This understanding, as a result, not only eases immediately the tension caused otherwise by verse 14, but makes the following speculation untenable, i.e., in these dirges the author has expressed his pathos or even regret at the fall of Babylon.¹⁵² This relation, hence, suggests the way to construct the chapter and the perspective the readers should have.

¹⁵¹ Here I refer to the multiplication of the aromatic substances in Revelation 18:13. For, of the five incenses, κιννάμωμον, ἄμωμον, θυμιάματα, μύρον, and λίβανον, only one, i.e., μύρον, has a corresponding item in Ezekiel 27:17 (צָרָה). For the significance and using of these aromatic substances in Roman empire, see Bauckham, *The Climax*, 360-61.

¹⁵² E.g., Kiddle, *Revelation*, 365; G. B. Caird, *The Revelation of ST. John the Divine* (London: A. & C. Black, 1966), 227.

In addition to this, the relation of the two passages examined above also offers hints to answer some of questions that the readers of the book might have, such as "why the author gives a cargo list in verses 12-13 and what role does it play in the context?" and "why the author repeatedly uses the expression "no more" in his conclusion (vv. 21-24)?" But above all these secondary issues, the question to be asked is that of how helpful is this relation in determining one of the preeminent issues involved in this passage, i.e., "who is the great harlot Babylon?"¹⁵³

On this question, the scholars of the field have not failed to offer their answers. Most of these suggestions are based, rightly so, on Revelation 17,¹⁵⁴ because in that chapter the angel, who reveals the vision of the great harlot Babylon to the seer (vv. 1-6), explicitly states that "I will tell you the mystery of the woman, and of the beast with seven heads and ten horns that carries her" (v. 7). But the angelic interpretations that follow (vv. 8-18) seem, to modern readers at least, puzzling. The seven heads of the beast upon which the woman sit, for example, is firstly interpreted as both the seven hills and seven kings (v. 9). This later interpretation, i.e., seven kings, is then further expounded in words which are even more bewildering, "of whom five have fallen, one is living, and the other has not yet come; and when he comes, he must remain only a little while. As for the beast that was and is not, it is an eighth but it belongs to the seven, and it goes to destruction" (vv. 10-11). The understanding of these perplexed angelic interpretations, which are crucial for the identification of Babylon, unfortunately, is compounded by one's

¹⁵³ Apart from the exegetical issue in view here, the theological question "what motivated the author to issue such a fierce attack upon Babylon and how do we evaluate such a motivation?" is also one of the main issues involved in Revelation 18. But since the concern of this thesis is on the exegetical issues, such a question will not be dealt with here. For a detailed discussion on this theological question, see A. Y. Collins, "Persecution and Vengeance in the Book of Revelation, in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*. ed. D. Hellholm (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1983), 729-49.

¹⁵⁴ Admittedly, there are some who take the Babylon of Revelation 17 distinctive from the one described in Revelation 18, and therefore propose that there are two Babylons in these two chapters. The majority of the scholars of the field, however, disagree with such a reading. For detailed argumentation for one Babylon in these two chapters, see C. H. Dyer, "The Identity of Babylon in Revelation 17-18," *BSac* 144 (1987), 305-313; T. R. Edgar, "Babylon: Ecclesiastical, Political, or What?" *JETS* 25 (1982), 333-35. In addition to Dyer and Edgar's arguments, our above observation on the verbal and thematic parallelisms found between Revelation 17:1-19:10 and 21:9-22:9 also supports such an understanding. For these parallelisms clearly suggest that chapters 17-18 belong to a literary unit which concerns one woman, the harlot Babylon, whose counter part, named the bride the New Jerusalem, is described in 21:9-22:9.

approach to the book as a whole¹⁵⁵ and by one's understanding of the nature of the language of the book (i.e., literal or symbolic). These two factors, i.e., the perplexity of the angel's interpretations and the presuppositions that different readers have on the book, inevitably resulted in numerous speculations.

Based on a literal reading, C. H. Dyer, for example, maintains that the Babylon of Revelation is the historical Babylon situated by the river of Euphrates. This ancient city, he suggests, "will once again be restored and will achieve a place of worldwide influence only to be destroyed by the Antichrist in his thirst for power."¹⁵⁶ This literal reading of Babylon, however, is not widely echoed in the field. The majority of the scholars take the Babylon of the book as a cryptic name which points to another entity.

But as to what exactly that cryptic name stands for, the scholars are divided. Most of them take her as the city Rome, the capital that represents the entire Roman empire,¹⁵⁷ or even "the entire world."¹⁵⁸ Belonging to this group, some maintain, however, that the cryptic name stands not just for Rome. As H. B. Swete puts it, "the city of the Caesars was the contemporary representative of Babylon; other ages may witness the rise and the fall of other mistresses of the world not less magnificent and depraved."¹⁵⁹ Or in L. Morris' words, "Rome does not exhaust the meaning of the symbol. As we have seen, the great city is every city and no city. It is civilized man, mankind organized apart from God. It has its embodiment in every age."¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ I.e., either the preterist, or the historicist, or the futurist, or the idealist, or even a combination of these.

¹⁵⁶ "The Identity of Babylon in Revelation 17-18," *BSac* 144 (1987), 433-49; the quotation is from 449. For similar view, see E. W. Bullinger, *The Apocalypse*. 3rd ed., Rev. and corrected (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1935), 560; R. L. Thomas, *Revelation 8-22*, 316-17.

¹⁵⁷ E.g., E. Schüssler-Fiorenza, *Priester für Gott* (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972), 354f; Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 260; Harrington, *Revelation*, 172-73; J. Roloff, *The Revelation of John*. Trans. J. E. Alsup (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 198-99; Michaels, *Revelation*, 196; G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 869; and many others. This view is in fact the position of the early church. For references, see D. F. Watson, "Babylon," in *ABD* I, 566; where the references to early Judaism literature are also given in which Babylon is also used as cryptic name for Rome.

¹⁵⁸ Charles, *Revelation II*, 55.

¹⁵⁹ *The Apocalypse*, 226.

¹⁶⁰ *Revelation*, 203, 207. G. E. Ladd seems also taking this position (*A Commentary on the Revelation of John* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972], 222), "Babylon became the personification of wickedness, and John has taken the Old Testament symbolism and used Babylon to represent the final manifestation of the total history of godless nations. The city had a historical manifestation in first-century Rome, but the full significance of the wicked city is eschatological."

This latter position is then coming close to the views of other scholars, who take Babylon not as the cryptic name for Rome but as a symbol for the world, the godless community which is trans-historical in nature. P. S. Minear, for example, proposes that the Babylon here points not to the historical Rome, but to the primordial and eschatological reality which is in conflict with the divine.¹⁶¹ In this ideological or ontological reading, Babylon then is "the 'global village' of godless power which determines daily life for every person at any time in human history."¹⁶²

Taking Babylon also as a cryptogram, some other scholars, on the other hand, argue that the harlot here stands not for Rome, the political and military antagonist of first century Church, but for Jerusalem, the religious opponent of the same community. Resorting to the OT, J. M. Ford, for example, maintains that the imagery of harlot used in Revelation 17-18 is to be understood in its religious sense: "It is the covenant which makes the bride, the breaking of it which makes the adulteress."¹⁶³ In a similar line, A. J. Beagley writes, "John's Apocalypse is greatly concerned with the Church's conflict with unbelieving and persecuting anti-Christian Judaism as an immediate problem."¹⁶⁴ This religious reading of Babylon finds alliances throughout the history of the interpretation of Revelation. For the harlot has been taken by some as either the Papal Rome,¹⁶⁵ or the counterfeit church,¹⁶⁶ or even the false religions of all time.¹⁶⁷

In a similar vein, R. H. Mounce (*The Book of Revelation* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977], 320) says also, "John's words extend beyond his immediate setting in history and sketch the portrait of an eschatological Babylon, which will provide the social, religious, and political base for the last attempt of Antichrist to establish his kingdom."

¹⁶¹ *I Saw a New Earth: A Complete New Study and Translation of the Book of Revelation* (Washington, D. C.: Corpus Books, 1968), 246. For similar views, see M. Wilcock, *The Message of Revelation* (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity, 1975), 161; J. Ellul, *Apocalypse: The Book of Revelation* (N.Y.: Seabury Press, 1977), 189; D. Guthrie, *The Relevance of John's Apocalypse* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 107; P. E. Hughes, *Revelation* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1990), 181.

¹⁶² R. W. Wall, *Revelation* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 202.

¹⁶³ *Revelation* (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975), 282-86; the quotation is from 285. According to I. Provan ("Foul Spirit," *JSNT* 64 [1996], 96, note 51), however, Ford has changed her view. But since we heard nothing from herself, her view given in the commentary is still taken as an example.

¹⁶⁴ *The 'Sitz im Leben' of the Apocalypse with Particular Reference to the Role of the Church's Enemies* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), 92-112; the quotation is from 112. For a similar view, see D. Chilton, *The Days of Vengeance: An Exposition of the Book of Revelation* (Tyler: Dominion Press, 1987), 422.

¹⁶⁵ E.g., H. Alford, *The Greek Testament*, vol. IV (London: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1874), 705.

¹⁶⁶ E.g., H. Hoeksema, *Behold He Cometh* (Grand Rapids: Reformed Free Publishing Association, 1969), 561.

These diverse readings of Babylon, as mentioned above, have largely resulted from the perplexity of the angelic interpretations given in Revelation 17. This then naturally leads one to ask: why not approach the issue from Revelation 18, especially from the perspective of its relation to Ezekiel 26-28?

Seeing the issue from this angle, one is immediately reminded that the harlot city Babylon of Revelation, as our above analysis indicated, is described in terms of the city Tyre, the ancient commercial centre which through its trading network has gathered herself with a great deal of wealth from all nations. In other words, the Babylon of Revelation is portrayed as a Tyre kind of city, heavily laden with all kinds of goods from the world. This description, in the date of the author, fits best Rome, the capital of the empire which is well known in its luxury and extravagant life style. This character of Rome is evidenced not only in early Roman literature,¹⁶⁸ but also in the chapter itself (18:3, 7, 12-13, 16-17).

Some might object to this connection by arguing that the cargoes listed in 18:12-13 do not exemplify the luxury of Rome but are the materials for the building up of the temple in Jerusalem and for its service. The entity in view is therefore not Rome but Jerusalem.¹⁶⁹ This objection, however, must face the fact that some of the items in the list, such as horses and chariots, are incongruous with such an identification.¹⁷⁰ Besides, our earlier examination has shown that to a large extent the entire chapter, not just the two verses (vv. 2-13), is to be read in the light of Ezekiel 26-28, a passage deals with a foreign commercial city.

Objection to the identification of Babylon as Rome might also be raised from a more general consideration, i.e., the harlot imagery used in Revelation 17-18

¹⁶⁷ E.g., R. L. Thomas, *Revelation 8-22*, 283, where he states that the woman needs "not be representative of apostate Israel or the apostate church," but "represents all false religion of all time, including those who apostatize from the revealed religion of Christianity."

¹⁶⁸ For references, see Bauckham, *The Climax*, 350-66; where the significance of the 28 cargoes listed in Revelation 18:12-13 is considered, individually, in the light of early Roman literature.

¹⁶⁹ Ford, *Revelation*, 304-7.

¹⁷⁰ Ford is aware of this difficulty. To this, she suggests, "the author may be insinuating that Roman ways were introduced into the sacred city" (Ibid., 305). To the same difficulty, I. Provan ("Foul Spirit," 95) maintains that the two seemingly incongruent items are from I Kings 4, which describes the goods that flow into Jerusalem in the days of the king Solomon. But a casual comparison of Revelation 18:12-13 with I Kings 4 is enough for us to conclude that, in terms of verbal similarity and of literary correspondence, Ezekiel 26-28 come much closer to the Revelation passage than the passage in I Kings.

suggests to one to identify Babylon as Jerusalem because in the OT that imagery is mainly applied to faithless Israel.¹⁷¹ Generally speaking, this consideration holds true. But in a couple of OT passages one however also finds that the harlot imagery has been applied to foreign cities.¹⁷² Nineveh, the metropolis of Assyria, for example, is metaphorically named as harlot in Nahum 3:4 because of her commercial deceitfulness. As K. Wengst says, "clearly the writer is thinking in this case not only of the military expansion of Assyria and its policy of deportation [Nah 3:1-3], but also of its economic power and attraction [v. 4]."¹⁷³ In other words, a connection between whoredom and commerce has been made here "under the aspect of venality."¹⁷⁴

Even more relevant to the Revelation passage is Isaiah 23:15-18 where Tyre is also addressed as "forgotten harlot" (זִוְנָה נִשְׁכָּחָה, v. 16). The context of this passage (Isa 23:1-14) and the text itself clearly indicate that the reason she is thus called is because of her commercial relationship with all the kingdoms on the face of the earth (vv. 17-18; cf. Rev 17:2, 18:3).¹⁷⁵ "The foremost thought here," J. A. Motyer comments, "is the mercenary motive that was ever the mainspring of Tyre's activity; all, as in prostitution, was done for money."¹⁷⁶

This metaphorical use of harlotry for venality is in fact also found in the passages where the faithless Israel is spoken of. One of the examples of this is found in Hosea 2:7 [2:5]: "For their mother has played the whore; she who conceived them

¹⁷¹ Ford, *Revelation*, 283-85; where several passages from Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel have been cited as examples.

¹⁷² Ford is aware of this, but her interpretations are not very convincing. This will be shown in the following.

¹⁷³ "Babylon the Great and the New Jerusalem: The Visionary View of Political Reality in the Revelation of John," in *Politic and Theopolitics in the Bible and Postbiblical Literature*. eds., Reventlow, H. G.; Y. Hoffman and B. Uffenheimen (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1994), 189-202; quotation is from 192. See also T. Longman III, "Nahum," in *The Minor Prophets*, vol. 2. ed., T. E. McComiskey (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), 815; J. J. M. Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah* (Louisville: Westminster, 1991), 73, where he proposes that the verse in question refers either to the role of Assyrian trade in her imperial expansion or to Assyria's willingness to come to the aid of embattled rulers in return for their submission to Assyria as loyal vassals.

¹⁷⁴ "Babylon the Great and the New Jerusalem," 192.

¹⁷⁵ O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39*, trans. R. A. Wilson (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), 170-71; R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 195-96; J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33* (Waco: Word Books, 1985), 308.

¹⁷⁶ *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1993), 193.

has acted shamefully. For she said, "I will go after my lovers; they give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, my oil and my drink." Here the mother stands for Israel, whose guilt of going after her lovers, Baals, the Canaanite gods of the fertility, for her material benefit is condemned.¹⁷⁷

These three cases exemplify then that in the OT the imagery of harlot, as a metaphor for venality,¹⁷⁸ is applied both to Israel and to foreign cities. There is no ground to object to the identification of the harlot Babylon as Rome from this particular perspective.

But what does it mean when an entity is being metaphorically called a venal harlot? In the case of Israel, it obviously refers to her unfaithfulness to her covenant Lord and husband, from whom solely she is supposed to ask and receive provision. In other words, when Israel is thus accused, a religious connotation is implied. But is this also true when the same imagery is applied to a foreign city, such as Rome, that has no covenant relationship with Yahweh? The question therefore is, what kind of criticism the author lays on Rome in Revelation 18? Is he intent to make an economic kind of critique?¹⁷⁹ Or is his critique, though dealing with economic issues, a religious one?¹⁸⁰ To answer this question, we must resort to OT again.

Nineveh, one of the two ancient cities that has been called harlot in the OT, is renowned for her massive treasures collected from her plundering of and trading with other nations, especially at the turn of the eighth century B.C. when she was chosen by king Sennacherib as the new capital for the Neo-Assyrian Empire.¹⁸¹ Her ways of gathering treasures and her cruelty toward other nations, especially toward Israel, deserve indeed condemnation.¹⁸² But it is interesting to note that in dealing with

¹⁷⁷ J. L. Mays, *Hosea* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 39; T. McComiskey, "Hosea" in *The Minor Prophets*, vol. I. ed., T. E. McComiskey (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992), 34.

¹⁷⁸ Except this economical aspect, the harlot imagery has been used in many other ways. Among them the alliance with foreign power for security is probably the most often accused idolatry that Israel committed (e.g., Jer 22:20, 30:14; Ezek 16:23-29; Hos 8:9).

¹⁷⁹ Bauckham, "The Economic Critique of Rome in Revelation 18," in *The Climax*, 338-83; T. R. Edgar, "Babylon: Ecclesiastical, Political, or What?" *JETS* 25 (1982), 333-41; C. R. Smith, "Reclaiming the Social Justice Message of Revelation: Materialism, Imperialism and Divine Judgment in Revelation 18," *Transformation* 7 no. 4 (1990), 28-33.

¹⁸⁰ I. Provan, "Foul Spirit," 81-100.

¹⁸¹ A. K. Grayson, "Mesopotamia, History of Assyria," *ABD* IV, 733, 745, 754; O. P. Robertson, *The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 93.

¹⁸² See the book of Nahum.

economic issues, the OT prophets are harmonious, i.e., she is guilty for her hubris which has resulted from her prosperity. This is attested in Zephaniah 2:15a, "This is the exultant city that dwelt secure, that said to herself: *I am and there is none else.*" In other words, all her prosperity and self-sufficiency leads her to think of herself as divine.¹⁸³ And this, without doubt, leads to her judgment: "What a desolation it has become, a lair for wild animals! Everyone who passes by it hisses and shakes the fist" (2:15b). In a similar fashion, her king, Sennacherib, is also accused of the same iniquity. In 2 Kings 18-19 this Assyrian king, by ways of comparing himself with Yahweh in various aspects (e.g., bringing judgment to or delivering a nation; 18:21, 33-35), has set himself as an alternative deity. Yet in the midst of all his boasts, we also learn that the king also compares himself with Yahweh in his ability to bring material blessing to those who rely on him (2 Kgs 18:31-32;¹⁸⁴ cf. Deut 8:7-9). This sort of hubris, like many other kinds, is condemned by the prophet Isaiah (2 Kgs 19:20-28,¹⁸⁵ especially v. 24).¹⁸⁶ In sum, in dealing with the economic issue of Nineveh, the two prophets' concern is less with its social overtone and more with its religious implication.

This mentality is also true to the case of Tyre, the other ancient city that is called harlot. In Ezekiel 26-28, this city is surely characterized by her exceptional beauty and wealth, but the accusation she received from the prophet is not for the prosperity she enjoyed, but for her unjust way of gathering her wealth (28:18), and more importantly, for the arrogance that she had from her economic success. For her economic achievement has made her king pompous, thinking in his own heart: "*I am a god; I sit in the seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas*" (28:2; see 27:3, 28: 6, 17 also). In other words, the criticism the prophet had of Tyre is not just a social one but was issued with a religious consideration.

This is how the prophets conceive the ancient harlot cities. But is this tradition followed by the author of Revelation? Could we find any hint reflecting such a tradition in Revelation 18? To answer this question, we only need to cite

¹⁸³ O. P. Robertson, *The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 313.

¹⁸⁴ See also Isaiah 36:16-18.

¹⁸⁵ See also Isaiah 37:21-29.

¹⁸⁶ For a more detailed analysis of this passage, see Provan, "Foul Spirit," 89.

verse 7b where the reason for judging the harlot Babylon is given, "Since in her heart she says: *I sit as a queen; I am no widow, and I will never see grief.*"¹⁸⁷ These words, on the surface, seem not so much exaggeration, because the wealth she has and the life she lives resemble that of a queen. But these words reflect in fact the boasting of the ancient Babylon, who, living in pleasure and security, says to herself, "*I am, and there is no one besides me; I shall not sit as a widow or know the loss of children*" (Isa 47:8).¹⁸⁸ This correspondence suggests then that, like the ancient Babylon, the Roman Babylon of Revelation is also judged because of her self-deification. Her self-deification, therefore, has put her "into the class of Babylon, Tyre, and Nineveh who were noted for such boasting in the OT."¹⁸⁹ In this regard, the tradition of the OT is indeed followed by the author of Revelation. He condemns the *Pax Romana* not merely because it is "a system of economic exploitation"¹⁹⁰ or "an economic tyrant,"¹⁹¹ but also because it has created a religion of self-sufficiency, self-confidence and self-deification for the ones who live in it. In the face of this danger, the readers are therefore urged: "Come out of her, my people, so that you do not take part in her sins, and so that you do not share in her plagues" (18:4), because she has become a dwelling place of devils (18:2), that is, a source of deceitfulness.

To sum up, the above analysis has shown two things. First, the literary dependence of Revelation 18 on Ezekiel 26-28 suggests the Great Harlot Babylon be read as a prosperous commercial center, and Rome of John's days fits best that criterion. Second, Ezekiel 26-28, together with other OT passages mentioned above, offer a proper background for the understanding of this Revelation chapter. This background indicates that the issue at stake is not economics *per se* but religion. Like the OT prophets, the author of Revelation concerned mainly with the deceitfulness of Mammon, which to him, is fully manifested in *Pax Romana*. This perception hence makes him focus his judgment on the cargoes which create such an illusion.

¹⁸⁷ See Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 230-31.

¹⁸⁸ For a detailed treatment on the dependence of Revelation 18:7 on Isaiah 47:7-9, see Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 218-21.

¹⁸⁹ Thomas, *Revelation 8-22*, 325. See also, Charles, *Revelation II*, 99; Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 230.

¹⁹⁰ Bauckham, *The Climax*, 347.

¹⁹¹ Smith, "Reclaiming," 31.

A comparison of John's use of Ezekiel with Ezekiel's use of Eden tradition

If what we have said above is the case, the analysis then leads us to observe that there exists a hermeneutical analogy between the way Ezekiel used Eden tradition and the way John used Ezekiel. In the former case, we observed earlier that the Eden tradition of Genesis 2-3 has been re-modeled in Ezekiel 28:11-19 and that re-modeling is achieved by two ways. First, by issuing the judgment through the means of dirge, the basic plot of the Eden tradition, i.e., falling from a glorious state to a wailful end, is followed. Second, in addition to this resemblance of scenario, the Eden tradition is resounded in the prophet's dirge by way of presenting the king of Tyre as an Adam kind of figure. Such a presentation, as noted, is based on the comparability of the two entities. For, like Adam, the king of Tyre is also a king and a priest.

Now in the latter case, we noted firstly that the book of Ezekiel is modeled after in Revelation by its following the thought pattern of Ezekiel and by its adopting the literary forms of its source. But in addition to this, the above analysis shows us the basis upon which that re-modeling is made. That basis, in a word, is the comparability of the two harlot cities. For like Tyre, Rome is also a commercial centre, who has deified herself because of her prosperity. In other words, like the prophet Ezekiel who made use of his source by making his leading character an Adam kind of figure, John in here has made a similar move, presenting the contemporary harlot city as if she is the ancient one.

Conclusion

In the first chapter surveying the scholars' proposals on how to determine allusions, we noted that three criteria have been suggested. They are, verbal, thematic and structural parallelisms. Our above investigation has shown that the relationship of Revelation 18 to Ezekiel 26-28 meets all these three criteria and therefore leads us to conclude firstly that the author of Revelation here has made an allusion to Ezekiel 26-28. Yet our analyses above have also shown that besides these

three sorts of connections, the NT passage also corresponds to the OT account in that it also uses the same literary crafts, i.e., dirge and cargo list, as means to issue judgment. This observation has two implications. First, the case we claimed is strengthened by the finding of this sort of correspondence. Second, the proposed methods are subjected to refinement. For, in addition to the three proposed criteria which are all concerned with the similarities of the content between the two texts in question, this case has illustrated that there are some other factors that need to be considered. The correspondence of literary form, as observed in this case study, is an example of this.

The established case then offers hints for one to understand the eighteenth chapter of Revelation more fully. These include how the chapter is to be constructed and the way to read the laments of the mourners. But in addition to these, the established case is helpful in determining two of the major interpretative issues involved in the chapter. They are, *who* is the great harlot Babylon of Revelation 17-18 and *why* is she being judged? On the first issue, the case suggests that the harlot Babylon stands for Rome, the trade centre of the world. Surely this reading is not a new one, but it is backed generally by the background of the OT and specifically by the OT source of this passage. On the second issue, the case suggests that one should focus on the religious implication of Rome's economic success, i.e., self-deification, the very sin committed also by many before her, such as Tyre, Nineveh and Babylon, which were all fallen.

Besides the literary dependency, the above examination also shows that Revelation also compares, hermeneutically, with its source. This is manifested in the analogy of the ways by which the two authors, Ezekiel and John in turn, re-modeled their sources. This sort of analogy, as far as I know, has not received much attention in the past. And the reason, I suspect, is probably that the interest of scholars of the field rested mainly on the understanding of the meaning of Revelation, and that interest is satisfied, partially at least, when the literary relation of Revelation to OT is isolated and evaluated. But if one intends to show the influence of an OT text on a certain Revelation passage, this hermeneutical facet is necessarily to be searched and demonstrated. The result of such an endeavour will certainly enhance our

understanding of the relationship between the two authors, but it will also provide a ground for further comparisons, i.e., the comparison of John's hermeneutics with that of Qumran community, of Judaism, and of other NT writers. These, however, are beyond the limitation of the thesis.

CHAPTER 3

Gog and Magog: The Use of Ezekiel 38-39 in Revelation 19-20

In this second case study of the thesis, we will examine the use of the Gog oracle (Ezek 38-39) in Revelation 19-20. As stated in the introductory chapter, the purpose of our investigations is firstly to illustrate the literary dependence of the NT passage on its OT source. But since the OT passage in itself is also a text heavily relying on other OT texts, one therefore wonders if there exists a hermeneutical parallelism between the "Old-in-Old" case and the "Old-in-New" case. For this reason, in part one of this chapter, we will conduct, in addition to a literary analysis of Gog oracle, an investigation on the using of the foe-from-the-north tradition in the Gog oracle. This investigation aims to provide a ground for further comparison when the NT passage is also examined in the second part of the chapter. But before we conclude what we have learned from these investigations, the implications of this case study for the understanding of Revelation 19-20 will be elaborated. We hope to show there that this case bears a special role in the perennial millennium debate.

Part One: The Examination of the Old Testament Passage

A literary analysis of Ezekiel 38-39

Defined by the message reception formula in 38:1¹ and by the date formula in 40:1,² Ezekiel 38-39 stands in itself as a literary unit.³ This passage, often named as

the Gog oracle, is situated between the message of consolation (chs. 33-37) and the restoration program (chs. 40-48), and hence constitutes a part of the prophet's message of hope (chs. 33-48).⁴

The passage in view is a collection of prophecies, which are all related to the central theme of this account, namely, the attack of Gog and his defeat. In considering the messenger formula as a clue (כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה, thus says the Lord God; 38:3, 10, 14, 17; 39:1, 17, 25), D. Stuart regards these two chapters as a composition of seven oracles.⁵ Following the vocative בֶּן-אָדָם (son of man, 38:2, 14; 39:1, 17), H. V. D. Parunak, on the other hand, suggests that the passage is formulated in four sections.⁶ These two suggestions, however, are similar in that both are equally made on the basis of literary device. This way of division surely has its merit, but it fails to take other factors into consideration. The copula of 38:14 (לְכֵן, therefore), for example, clearly connects 38:14-16 with what has come before it (38:10-13),⁷ and therefore suggests that these two sayings are not to be separated. The messenger formula, as well as the vocative, could have "an intermediate role within a larger sub-unit,"⁸ and should not strictly be held as the only sign of division. The difficulty of this method is also seen when the elements of style and content are considered. One of the renowned cases in this Gog oracle is how one deals with 39:21-24. In Stuart's division, these four verses, together with 39:17-20, constitute a literary unit defined by the two messenger formulae in verses 17 and 25; in Parunak's division, however, the same passage belongs to 39:17-29 which is introduced by "son of man" (v. 17). But as D. I. Block⁹ showed, if one follows Stuart and Parunak's

¹ I.e., "The word of the Lord came to me saying" (וַיְהִי דְבַר-יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר).

² I.e., "In the twenty-fifth year of our exile, at the beginning of the year, on the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after the city was struck down" (עֲשָׂרָה שָׁנָה אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר הִכָּתָה הָעִיר) (בְּעֶשְׂרִים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה לְגָלוּתֵנוּ בְּרִאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה בְּעָשׂוֹר לַחֹדֶשׁ בְּאַרְבַּע).

³ For a brief discussion of the unity of this passage, see R. Ahroni, "The Gog Prophecy and the Book of Ezekiel," *HAR* 1 (1977), 4-5.

⁴ See, e.g., Allen, *Ezekiel 1-19*, xxiv-xxxvi; Hals, *Ezekiel*, 230-2; Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, 6.

⁵ *Ezekiel*, 352; see also Cooper, *Ezekiel*, 328.

⁶ *Structural Studies in Ezekiel*. Ph. D. dissertation (Harvard University, 1978), 490-1.

⁷ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 202; where he follows F. -L. Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie des Ezechielbuches* (Würzburg: Exhter Verlag, 1977), 406.

⁸ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 202. In the place cited, the quoted phrase refers to the messenger formula, but it is also applicable to the vocative.

⁹ "Gog and the Pouring Out of the Spirit: Reflections on Ezekiel xxxix 21-9," *VT* 37 (1987), 257-70.

methodology, one could also maintain that verses 21-24, together with verses 25-29, constitute a literary unit. For these nine verses are delimited by the phrase, "says the Lord Yahweh" (נְאֻם יְהוָה), found at the end of verses 20 and 29. Literary device, therefore, is only one of the factors to be considered in the task of determining the division of a text. This is especially true when one faces a text as complex as the one we have here. Literary device, especially in a redactional or editorial work,¹⁰ could be a factor of confusion, for following different clues one will have different versions of division. In order to gain a proper division, other factors need to be considered. The style and content, for example, have been carefully thought of by Block before he asserts that 39:21-29 has been properly placed at the end of the Gog oracle to conclude this episode.

In considering all sorts of factors, Block gives his version of the structure of the Gog oracle in the following fashion:¹¹

The announcement of a new oracle	(xxxviii 1)
The first Gog panel	(xxxviii 2-23)
The second Gog panel	(xxxix 1-24)
The conclusion	(xxxix 25-9)

This outline, on the one hand, does not violate the suggestion of the literary signals, and on the other hand, gains more support from the fact that the first Gog panel (38:2-23) contains almost the same amount of words as the second panel does

¹⁰ The complications of the text and the logical "inconsistency" between the individual oracles (e.g., the summons of the birds and animals to devour the corpora of warriors which had already been buried) suggest that the text before us had gone through a process of redaction. "Who is/are the redator/redators?" and "What are the basic core texts?" are greatly debated issues among scholars and are of interest, but since our present concern is how the Gog oracle, as it was in the days of John, is used in Revelation, these issues will not be discussed here. For a short but good discussion of the scholars' suggestions, especially on Gog oracle, see Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 203-4; and D. I. Block, "Gog and Magog in Ezekiel's Eschatological Vision," in *The Reader must Understand': Eschatology in Bible and Theology*, eds. K. E. Brower and M. W. Elliott (Leicester: Apollos, 1997), 92 note 34. It is enough to point out here that no matter what texts, longer or shorter, have been identified as the original, most recent scholars agree that Ezekiel the prophet is the one who wrote it (see Block, "Gog and the Pouring out of the Spirit," 257 note 3 for references). It is also interesting to note that even if we follow F. -L. Hossfeld's view, whose suggestion concerning the core texts (38:1-3a; 39:1b-5) is the shortest among the scholars (*Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie des Ezechielbuches*, 402-509), we still can build up a case for the dependence of Rev 20:7-10 on Ezek 38-39.

¹¹ "Gog in Prophetic Tradition: A New Look at Ezekiel XXXVIII 17," *VT* 42 (1992), 154-72, esp. 157.

(39:1-24),¹² which is a good example of the "halving pattern."¹³ These two panels are then expanded by Block as follows:

Panel A: The Defeat of Gog	(xxxviii 2-23)
Frame 1: The Conscription of Gog	(xxxviii 2-9)
Frame 2: The Motives of Gog	(xxxviii 10-13)
Frame 3: The advance of Gog	(xxxviii 14-16)
Frame 4: The judgment of Gog	(xxxviii 17-22)
Interpretative Conclusion	(xxxviii 23)
Panel B: The Disposal of Gog	(xxxix 1-24)
Frame 1: The Slaughter of Gog	(xxxix 1-8)
Frame 2: The Spoiling of Gog	(xxxix 9-10)
Frame 3: The Burial of Gog	(xxxix 11-16)
Frame 4: The Devouring of Gog	(xxxix 17-20)
Interpretative Conclusion	(xxxix 21-4)

The symmetry of this structure is quite impressive, but it seems that the titles that Block gives to panel A and panel B do not properly reflect the contents of these two accounts (panel A especially) and fall short in manifesting the movement between the two panels. For, while both panels contain the elements of Gog's attack and of his defeat, it is obvious that panel A emphasizes the first element, the coming of Gog's attack, and panel B stresses the second, the defeat of Gog. This is readily seen in two points. First, the coming of Gog's attack which occupies 15 verses in panel A (38:2-16) is resumed and summarized in only one verse in panel B (39:2). Second, the only judgment saying about Gog's defeat in panel A (38:18-22) is elaborated into a serial of oracles in panel B (39:3-20). This latter point leads us to the second difficulty of Block's division. In his arrangement of the panel B, the spoiling of Gog (frame 2), the burial of Gog (frame 3), and the devouring of Gog (frame 4) have been paralleled with the slaughter of Gog (frame 1). But in view of the relation of 39:3 to frame 2,¹⁴ 39:4a to frame 3,¹⁵ and 39:4b to frame 4,¹⁶ it seems better to place the later three frames under frame 1 as its sub-divisions. They are the

¹² 365 and 357 in turn.

¹³ This pattern is first recognized by M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, 25-6.

¹⁴ That is, both passages concern, equally, the theme of the destroying of Gog's weapons.

¹⁵ That is, the two texts parallel each other with the same motif, the death of Gog's armies on the land of Israel.

¹⁶ That is, the two accounts use the same imagery to describe how Gog is to be dealt with, namely, to be devoured by the animals. These three correspondences, therefore, indicate that the latter three judgment sayings are the elaborations of the first one.

supplements of the first frame, elaborating the same battle with more details. They are, in a word, the portraits of the same battle from different angles.¹⁷

In sum, though with deficiencies, Block's division, on the whole, holds true still. It manifests that the Gog oracle is mainly composed of two sections, chapters 38 and 39, and these two chapters "function as a diptych, two leaves of a single document."¹⁸ Both chapters have their own point of emphasis, but they describe the same event.¹⁹

The use of the foe-from-the-north tradition in Ezekiel 38-39

Like many other passages of the book, Ezekiel 38-39 is also featured with the traditions it employed in its lines.²⁰ Among these traditions, the tradition of the foe-from-the-north is the one most widely recognized by the scholars.²¹ This tradition, to be sure, emerged in many other prophetic writings, but due to the reason that our interest here is how this tradition has been used in Ezekiel 38-39, we will only deal with the passages whose dates are prior, in the view of the author of Revelation of course, to that Ezekielian passage.

The first passage which comes to the front is Isaiah 5:26-30. In this passage the identity of the enemy is not given, but "it is likely that he [Isaiah] has Assyria in mind here."²² The enemy is a distant nation (לְגוֹיִם מֵרָחוֹק, v. 26)²³ and it will come

¹⁷ Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 408; where the text in view is the entire Gog oracle (chs. 38-39). But his observation that "the final catastrophe is looked at from various angles, without any attempt to trace a logical order in the sequence of events" is also true to chapter 39, the text in view here.

¹⁸ Block, "Gog and Magog in Ezekiel's Eschatological Vision," 92.

¹⁹ The recapitulation of 38:2-4 in 39:1-2 and the echo of Gog's forces (38:6, 9) in 39:4 clearly indicate this; see Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 207; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 408.

²⁰ Except the tradition of the foe-from-the-north in view here, the Molek tradition, for example, has been suggested as a tradition that lies behind the Gog oracle. For details, see B. P. Irwin, "Molek Imagery and the Slaughter of Gog in Ezekiel 38 and 39," *JSOT* 65 (1995), 93-112. The tradition concerning the summoning of the wild beasts to the sacrificial meal in the day of Yahweh (Ezek 39:17-20; cf. Jer 12:9, 46:10 and Zeph 1:7) is another example of this.

²¹ E.g., J. W. Wavens, *Ezekiel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 198-99; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 299-302; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 523; Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 205.

²² J. N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1-39* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 168. See also Watts, *Isaiah 1-33*, 64; and cf. Isa 10:5, 12, and 28ff.

²³ Since the following pronouns in the verse are singular, some suggest that the plural ׀ of לְגוֹיִם is displaced from the following word. This emendation then makes the text accord with Jeremiah 5:15 where גֹּיִ מִמְּרָחוֹק is used to describe the foe from the north. See Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, 167; Watt, *Isaiah 1-33*, 64.

from the end of the earth (מִקְצֵה הָאָרֶץ, v. 26). Its soldiers are cavalries, riding on their chariots which run like a stormwind (וְגִלְגָּלֵי כִסּוּפָה, v. 28). Swiftly and speedily (מְהֵרָה קָל, v. 26), therefore, this enemy moves toward its goal. They are all well trained and fully prepared warriors (vv. 27-28). This picture of the coming attack of enemy is echoed in other Isaianic passages, where the foe is figuratively spoken of as either a storm from afar (וּלְשׂוֹאָה מִמֶּרְחֶק, 10:3), or a smoke out of the North (מִצָּפוֹן עָשָׁן, 14:31).

A similar picture is also found in Habakkuk 1:5-11. In replying the prophet's complaint (1:2-4), Yahweh says that he will arouse the Chaldeans (הַכַּשְׁדִּים, v. 6), namely, the Babylonians,²⁴ to carry out his judgment upon his people. In cruelty and ruthlessness (vv. 6-7), says the Lord, these mighty warriors will come from afar (מִרְחוֹק, v. 8), marching through the breadth of the earth (הַהוֹלֵךְ לְמִרְחֵב־אֶרֶץ, v. 6) to attack. Like leopards, their horses will advance at a great speed and like an eagle, they will swiftly come to devour (v. 8). Neither kings nor strongholds will withstand their fierce attack (v. 10).

Turning to the book of Jeremiah, one finds that this tradition permeates this book, especially in the earlier chapters (1:13-15; 4:5-8, 11-17, 19-21, 23-26, 29-31; 5:15-17; 6:1-5, 22-26; 8:16). On this foe-from-the-north tradition in Jeremiah, B. S. Childs²⁵ summarizes well:

These passages depict the enemy in the following way: he comes from the north (1 14 f., 4 6, 6 1, 22), from a distant land (4 16, 5 15, 6 22). It is an "ancient" and "enduring"

²⁴ The term translated as the Chaldeans appears 74 times in the OT. In most the occurrences, especially those in 2 Kings and in prophetic writings (70 times), this term refers to the Babylonians, the people of Chaldean who was thus named at the time when Nabopolassar (ca. 626-605) and his son Nebuchadrezzar (605-562) reigned the empire. For a more detailed treatment on the identity of the Chaldeans in verse 6 and the date of the book, see R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi* (Waco: Word Books, 1984), 94, 101-02; see also O. P. Robertson, *The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 34, 148; J. J. M. Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah* (Louisville: Westminster, 1991), 82-4; F. F. Bruce, "Habakkuk," in *The Minor Prophets*, Vol. 2. ed. T. W. McComiskey (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), 831.

²⁵ "The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition," *JBL* 78 (1959), 190-91. Childs' purpose is to demonstrate how the foe-from-the-north tradition develops from the time of pre-exile, to exile and post-exile period. And he suggests that by the combination of the chaos tradition with the foe-from-the-north tradition, the prophets in exile have added a hue of apocalyptic to the tradition which was originally prophetic in nature. Childs' arguments, especially his dating of some of the passages involved, are debatable, but his observation that a reinterpretation of former prophecies has been occurred in the time of exile supports the point I intend to make here.

nation (5 16) speaking a foreign tongue (5 15). All of them are mighty men (5 16) and without mercy (6 23). The suddenness of the attack is emphasized (4 20, 6 26). The enemy rides upon swift horse (4 13, 4 29) with war chariots (4 13) and is armed with bow and spear (4 29, 6 23). He uses battle formations (6 23) and attack a fortified city at noon (6 4, 5). While a very plastic picture is given, there is no direct evidence by which to identify it with a historical nation.²⁶ Certain expressions stand out by their frequency such as the "evil from the north" (4 6, 6 1, 1 14). The recurrence of the expression "from a distant land" (4 16), "from afar" (5 15), "from the farthest parts of the earth" (6 22), is characteristic. So also is the encircling of the city (4 17, 6 3).

To sum up, these three prophets' descriptions of the foe from the north are similar in several points. First, the foes are said to come from the north (Isa 14:31; Jer 1:14, 4:6, 6:1, 22), or from afar (Isa 5:26, 10:3; Hab 1:8; Jer 4:16, 5:15, 6:22). Second, the enemies are mighty warriors, well-prepared, ruthless and dreadful (Isa 5:27-28; Hab 1:6-7; Jer 5:16, 6:23). Third, horses and chariots are their means of transportation (Isa 5:28; Hab 1:8; Jer 4:13, 29, 6:23). Fourth, with different metaphors, such as the stormwind (Isa 5:28; Jer 4:13), leopards (Hab 1:8), and eagles (Hab 1:8; Jer 4:13), the swiftness of these mighty warriors are equally emphasized.

Turning to Ezekiel 38-39, one is immediately struck by the similarities between the foe of this account and the ones in the passages examined above. Here we learn of a great army from the "remotest parts of the north" (38:6, 15, 39:2), gathering around the mountain of Israel (38:8, 39:2) to wage war against the people who dwelled at the centre of the world (עַל-טִּבּוֹר הָאָרֶץ, 38:12). This troop is fully equipped. Armours, helmets, shields, bucklers, wielding swords, bows, arrows, handspikes and spears are their weapons (38:4-5, 39:3, 9). Riding on their horses

²⁶ It is necessary to note here that in later part of Jeremiah (13:20; 25:9; 46:24), the foe from the north has been identified as the Babylonians. But as to the identification of the foe in these earlier chapters of the book, scholars are of different opinions. W. L. Holladay, for example, maintains that since the prophet Jeremiah began his ministry not with 627 B. C. but with the earlier part of Jehoiakim's reign (609-598 B.C.), the foe from the north in these earlier chapters of Jeremiah is not the Scythians, but the Babylonians (*Jeremiah 1* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986], 42-3; see also 1-10). For a more detailed discussion of this issue, see E. Yamauchi, "The Scythians: Invading Hordes from the Russian Steppes," *BA* 46 no. 2 (1983), 90-99; where he maintains that since the date and the extent of the Scythian invading into the Near East are still matters of debate, one can not be certain if the Scythians are the foe in these chapters of Jeremiah. But since the archeological evidence suggests that Scythian mercenaries may have served as the vanguard of the Chaldean assault, the foe of these chapters may refer to an attacking force of both Chaldeans and Scythians (see also the same author's "Jeremiah's Foe from the North," in *Foes from the Northern Frontier: Invading Hordes from Russian Steppes* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982], 87-107). The exact identification of the foe in these chapters of Jeremiah, however, bears little relevance to our interest here. For no matter who this foe may be, our intention here is to show that this tradition has been reapplied by the prophet Ezekiel to an another occasion.

(38:3, 15, 39:20) and their chariots (39:20),²⁷ the armies advance swiftly, coming up like a storm (כַּשֹּׁאֵף תְּבוֹאָה, 38:9; or like a raincloud, כְּעָנָן, 38:9, 16) to cover the earth.

These points of connection, hence, suggested that the pre-exile tradition of the foe-from-the-north has been adopted by the prophet in exile (Ezek 33:21). This observation is firstly backed by the fact that the prophet Ezekiel is renowned for his extensive reuse of the prophetic materials before him.²⁸ R. Smend, for example, remarks that sixty-two Ezekielian passages are borrowing from Jeremiah.²⁹ On this, Zimmerli also notes that, in addition to the book of Jeremiah, Ezekiel also knew and used some passages from Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah.³⁰

This observation is secondly backed by the fact that the reusing of a tradition on different occasions is not uncommon in the prophet's days. Taking the book of Jeremiah as an example, the foe-from-the-north tradition found in 6:22-24 has been echoed verbatim in 50:41-43, except the substitution of the addressee Zion with Babylon. This means that the judgment formerly issued against Judah has been reapplied, word for word, to her enemy at the later part of the book.³¹ This sort of practice, interestingly, is also taken up by Ezekiel himself. For, besides Ezekiel 38-39, we learn from Ezekiel 26:7-14 that this foe-from-the-north tradition has also been applied to Tyre, one of Israel's enemies.³²

²⁷ It needs to be noted that chariots are not explicitly mentioned in this Gog account, but the chariot horses however are in the menu of the sacrificial meal. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 294 and Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 202 for the reading of רֹכֵב (39:20) not as "the rider" (ἀναβάτην, LXX), but as the chariot horse.

²⁸ Ezekiel, of course, also knew and reused the Pentateuch and the historical books. For examples of this, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 41-43. For Ezekiel's relation to the pre-classical and classical prophets, see also K. W. Carley, *Ezekiel Among the Prophets* (London: SCM, 1975).

²⁹ *Der Prophet Ezekiel* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1880), xxiv.

³⁰ *Ezekiel 1*, 43-6; see also the same author's "The Message of the Prophet Ezekiel," *Int* 23 (1969), 136-38. For the same issue, see also Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, xxi-xxii; where he says, "Ezekiel deliberately borrowed and built upon the messages of more recent prophets and doubtless thus enhanced his religious authority" (xxi).

³¹ For another example of this sort of reapplication in the same book, cf. 49:18-21 with 50:40, 44-46. In this case, the judgment saying concerning Edom (49:18-21) is also verbally reapplied to Babylon. Jeremiah, however, is not the first prophet to do this. In Isaiah 14:31, we see that the foe-from-the-north tradition has been involved in Isaiah's prophesying the doom of Philistines.

³² See, Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 35-7. This reapplication, indeed, has created difficulties to the text, i.e., the imageries used in this tradition, which picture the besieging of a mainland city by its enemy, are not suitable to the city of this passage which is a sea port, built on an island. But this "incongruity" attests, ironically, the reapplication of a tradition.

If what we have said above is the case, then the question comes, how do we know that this is the way the author of Revelation understood it? This question, to be sure, cannot appropriately be answered until the relation of the NT passages (Rev 19:17-21, 20:7-10) to this Gog oracle is examined.³³ Yet for now, a couple of considerations given below will be sufficient. First, John's circumstantial familiarity with the prophetic writings, which we already noted in the first chapter of this thesis, provides a proper backdrop for us to answer this question. That is, this characteristic of John suggests one to give a positive answer to the question. Second, John's thorough familiarity with the OT, as J. Fekkes showed, is particularly seen in his ability to combine various OT texts which are of the same motif into one product.³⁴ This feature of John is also attested in his handling the foe-from-the-north tradition. For, in Revelation 20:8-9, we learn exactly that the Gog oracle has been combined, almost unnoticeably, with an another foe-from-the-north text. In particular, this is seen in his incorporating the imagery from the Gog oracle with a phrase from Habakkuk 1:6, לְמַרְחֲבֵי אָרֶץ, rendered by him in 20:9 as "ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς γῆς" (they marched up over the breadth of the earth; cf. the rendering of the LXX, τὸ πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη τῆς γῆς).³⁵

That the foe-from-the-north tradition has been adopted by the prophet in Ezekiel 38-39 is what we have seen above. But how do we deal with the differences between this Gog oracle and those pre-exilic foe-from-the-north passages and what do these differences mean? Three differences, at least, are worth noting. First, while the attacks in those pre-exilic passages are, explicitly or implicitly, said to come in the near future, the assault in the Gog oracle is set in a distant future. Specifically, it is said to come after the exiles have returned to their land and settled there peacefully for a period of time (Ezek 38:8, 12, 14). In other words, while the pre-exile prophets

³³ This will be dealt with in part two of this chapter.

³⁴ *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 71-101; where Fekkes demonstrates this ability of John with four themes: Visionary experience and language, Christological titles and descriptions, Eschatological judgment, and Eschatological salvation.

³⁵ The Hebrew phrase and the two translations are hapax legomena in their own domains, and this enhances the probability of the case we claim here. For a more detailed analysis of this case, see Trudinger, *The Text*, 89). This case, of course, is not the one and only instance found in this passage. The combination of the Gog oracle with the imagery from Daniel 7:11 (20:10; cf. 19:20 also) is an another example of this (Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 83). See also the combination of the same tradition with the imagery from Isaiah 63:3 in Revelation 19:11-21, particularly 19:13 (Ozanne, *The Influence*, 186).

envisioned one future event, the prophet in exile sees two. He sees first the restoration and then the coming of the threat after that restoration.

Second, though different opinions have been offered on the identification of the foes in the pre-exile passages, scholars are generally agreed that the foe in each of these passage can reasonably be identified with a great empire of the days of the author. But the foe of the Ezekielian passage, however, is different. Led by Gog, the invading troops are said to compose of soldiers from Meshek, Tubal (vv. 2-3),³⁶ Paras, Cush, Put (or Libya, v. 5), Gomer and Beth-Togarmah (v. 6).³⁷ As D. Block observes,³⁸ this international alliance is featured in three aspects. (1) The nations listed here "represent distant peoples, from the fringes of Israelite geographic awareness."³⁹ (2) As a characteristic of this Gog oracle, the number of the allied nations adds up to seven,⁴⁰ which "symbolizes totality, completeness, raising the conspiracy against Israel from a minor opportunistic incursion to a universal conspiracy."⁴¹ (3) The names of these nations are given in a merismic format: "Meshech, Tubal, Gomer and Beth Togarmah represent the northern extreme of the world known to Israel; Paras, Cush and Put the southern extreme, reinforcing the impression that the entire world is ganging up on Israel"⁴² (cf. 38:12). This world-wide involvement is further attested in the mentioning of the three well-known commercial nations in 38:13, Sheba, Dedan and Tarshish (cf. Ezek 27:22, 20, 12 respectively). For these three names constitute also "a merismus, representing the nations who control the trading lanes of the world, from the far east to the far west."⁴³ These two groups of nations, says Block, "represent all four points of the compass."⁴⁴

³⁶ The term ראש (v. 2) means chief or head, not Rosh (as a proper name). It is therefore not to be identified with Russia (so H. Lindsey and C. C. Carlosn, *The Late Great Planet Earth* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970], 63-65).

³⁷ For historical identification of these nations, see E. Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier: Invading Hordes from Russian Steppes*.

³⁸ "Gog and Magog in Ezekiel's Eschatological Vision," 85-116.

³⁹ Ibid., 99.

⁴⁰ Cf. the enemy's seven weapons (39:9), which will be burn as fuel for seven years (39:9), and the seven months which is the time needed to bury the remains of the enemies (39:12, 14).

⁴¹ "Gog and Magog in Ezekiel's Eschatological Vision," 99.

⁴² *Idem*.

⁴³ Ibid., 101-02; where Block says, "Sheba and Dedan represent merchant peoples (סוֹחְרִימֵי) who conduct their trade via the overland routes across the Arabian Desert to the east of Israel, and Tarshish represents the maritime traders who control the Mediterranean route to the west" (102).

⁴⁴ Ibid., 102.

In a word, compared to that of the pre-exile prophets, the attack of Gog envisioned by the prophet in exile is much larger in scale. It is a battle between the entire world and the restored Israel.

These two characteristics of the Gog oracle attract, surely, scholars' attention, which, to a large extent, focuses on two issues: the genre of the oracle and the identification of the foe in this passage. Generally speaking, the searching for the genre of the oracle, as B. Erling's study exemplified,⁴⁵ is aimed to show the transitional role of this oracle in the development of Jewish literature from prophecy to apocalypse. For the characteristics of this oracle mentioned above seem to suggest that the battle described in this oracle is trans-historical in nature.⁴⁶ But since our interest here is the relation of this oracle to the pre-exile foe-from-the-north passages, we will give no further space to this issue.

As to the issue concerning the identification of Gog, numerous attempts had been made in the past. But these endeavours, as B. Otzen observes,⁴⁷ "point in two directions: either historical realities or mythological ideas lie behind the Gog-Magog concept."⁴⁸ These attempts to find a historical or mythical background for the oracle in view are of interest and merit, but the two characteristics mentioned above, especially the second one, prevent one from identifying this Gog enemy with any historical or mythical figure. For, no matter what the origin of this foe may be, it has

⁴⁵ "Ezekiel 38-39 and the Origins of Jewish Apocalyptic," in *Ex Orbe Religionum*, vol. 1 FS G. Widengren (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 104-14.

⁴⁶ Or in P. Grech's words, "Ezekiel elevates the intra-historical eschatology about which 'the former prophets had spoken' (28, 17 [38:17?]) to an ultra-historical level, almost to apocalyptic" ("Interprophetic Re-interpretation and the Old Testament Eschatology," *Augustinianum* 9 [1969], 235-65; see 248 for quotation). For an objection to this classification of Gog oracle as proto-apocalyptic, see D. Block, "Gog and Magog in Ezekiel's Eschatological Vision," 91-4.

⁴⁷ "מְגִיֵּן מְגִיֵּן," *TDOT* 2: 419-25; see 421-2 especially, where he summarizes scholars' proposals in three categories. (1) Gog is the name of a historical person. He is identified as either (a) the Lydian king Gyges (Akk. *Gūgu*) who dates about 670 B.C., or (b) an officer in the army of the younger Cyrus (about 400 B.C.), or (c) Alexander the Great (Gog as his pseudonymous name). In a similar line, some others regard Gog as the dynasty of *Gagi* in the territory north of Assyria, or as a territory called *Gaga*, which is located north of Syria. (2) Gog represents not a name but a mythical entity. In this view, Magog represents the land of darkness; and Gog stands for the personification of darkness or the leader and representative of the powers hostile to God. (3) The third line of thought is based on text-critical reasons. A pre-Massoretic version of Number 24:7, which reads Gog instead of Agag, is suggested as the origin of the name Gog in Ezekiel 38:2, though its meaning is still uncertain. The phrase, the land of Magog, on the other hand, is thought of as a marginal note which, at some time, was incorporated into the text. The meaning of the phrase is understood as "the territory of the Macedonian," i.e., of Alexander the Great.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 422.

been transformed in this oracle into a world-wide coalesced force.⁴⁹

But why make such a transformation? The answer lies, I think, in the third characteristic of this oracle which distinguishes itself, totally, from those pre-exile foe-from-the-north passages. And this characteristic is that the Gog oracle is narrated to show the doom of the invading foe, not the doom of the one being attacked. For unlike those pre-exile passages which relate the judgment of Israel brought upon by the foe from the north, this oracle tells of the destruction of Israel's enemies. Like those pre-exile passages, it begins with the coming attack of the foe (Ezek 38:1-16; 39:1-2), but as the story continues, the oracle gives a dramatic U-turn, revealing how the dreadful force is being destroyed by divine intervention, i.e., earthquake, plague, torrential rains, hailstones, fire and sulphur (Ezek 38:17-23;⁵⁰ 39:3-7). And the purpose of this destruction is clearly stated in 38:23, "So I [Yahweh] will display my greatness and my holiness and make myself known in the eyes of many nations. Then they shall know that I am the LORD" (cf. 38:16; 39:6-7, 13, 21). In other words, the prophet's transformation of the foe, or his elevating the scale of the warfare, is aimed to demonstrate Yahweh's sovereignty over the nations.⁵¹

This consideration, in fact, constitutes only a part of the prophet's thinking. In Ezekiel 33-39, we see that the event of Exile⁵² creates, at least, two effects. On Israelites' part, it makes them to reconsider the theodicy of Yahweh: will the Lord keep his promise he made with their father Abraham that the land will be theirs?

⁴⁹ Earlier we have observed that, as a common prophetic practice, this foe-from-the-north tradition has been reapplied, verbatim or conceptually, to different entities. On this phenomenon, R. P. Carroll aptly notes, "hence the poems should not be understood as literal descriptions of the invading armies but as conventional proclamations. It is therefore not possible to determine the relation of such poems to the events themselves, whether as anticipations, accompaniments or later reflections" (*Jeremiah* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986], 202-03). In dealing with the prophets' reactions to bad news, D. R. Hillers also observes a similar phenomenon, i.e., in many prophetic passages, the prophets used almost stereotype phrases to express their anguish when they heard bad news. And on this phenomenon, he suggests, "the poet's use of traditional literary formulae prevents us from drawing conclusions as to his individual psychological reaction" ("A Convention in Hebrew Literature: The Reaction to Bad News," *ZAW* 77 [1965], 86-90; see 89 for quotation). Though dealing with different subject, Hillers' observation and suggestion are in agreement with Carroll's and hence support our claim here.

⁵⁰ The parallelism of this passage to Jeremiah 4:23-26 adds one more piece of evidence to the case we claim earlier, i.e., the foe-from-the-north tradition has been alluded to in Ezekiel 38-39.

⁵¹ For references to other prophetic passages which are also distinctive with this theme, see P. Grech, "Interprophetic Re-interpretation and the Old Testament Eschatology," 237.

⁵² Notice that the messages of restoration and of the defeating of Gog (Ezek 33:23-39:29) are delivered after the news about the fall of Jerusalem was heard (33:21-22).

(Ezek 33:24). To this inquiry, the prophet in chapters 34-37 assures them that there will be a restoration. Yet on the nations' part, the exile of Israel has made them to think of Yahweh as merely one of the gods who could not protect his own people (Ezek 35:10-13, 36:1-15; cf. 2 Kgs 19:8-13, Isa 10:8-11, 37:8-13). To answer this disparagement, the prophet in this Gog oracle firmly declares that in the latter days (בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים, 38:16)⁵³ Yahweh will glorify his name and manifest his greatness in the eyes of the nations when he summons them to the mountain of Israel and defeats them there. Surely this declaration is not just a reaction to the disparagement of the nations, because it also has a psychological effect upon the exiled Israelites. Indeed, it assures the exiles that "the tragedy of 586 BC will never be repeated,"⁵⁴ and therefore soothes the psychological trauma that the exiles had from that catastrophe.

In sum, these characteristics of the Gog oracle indicate that the oracle is the prophet's theological reflection on the event of Exile. In facing such a catastrophe, he invokes a tradition well known to his days in his addressing the current event. Yet in doing so, he has reinterpreted it by making some adjustments. Firstly he projects the event into a distant future, a time when the exiles have already returned to their land. He then transforms the foe into an international force so to fit his purpose. But most importantly, he adds a new element to the tradition, a new theme totally absent in those pre-exile passages, i.e., the defeating of the foe.⁵⁵ And as an inseparable part of his prophecy, this new element is added to answer the disparagement of the

⁵³ Or "after many days ... in the latter years" (מִיָּמִים רַבִּים ... אַחֲרָיו, 38:8). The meaning of these three temporal phrases has been an issue debated among scholars. B. S. Childs, for example, holds that these temporal phrases indicate that "the event described have passed from the plane of history and entered the apocalyptic age" ("The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition," 196). D. I. Block, on the other hand, maintains that these phrases "may arguably mean no more than 'in the course of time, in the future', that is, when the conditions spelled out in 38:8 will have been fulfilled" ("Gog and Magog in Ezekiel's Eschatological Vision," 87). This issue bears, indeed, relevance to our interest here. But, since even if we follow Block's view, maintaining that the event envisioned by the prophet falls in the plane of history, we still can establish our case through other changes made by the prophet in this oracle, this issue will be left opened, giving no further attention.

⁵⁴ Block, "Gog and Magog in Ezekiel's Eschatological Vision," 116.

⁵⁵ That Yahweh's sovereignty over the world is manifested in his defeating the nations is surely not a new theme but a motif which has appeared already in many other OT passages. But this so-called "holy war" tradition has not been combined with the foe-from-the-north tradition in those pre-exile texts. In this sense, this addition, or combination, is a new thing. For a brief description of the development of the holy war tradition in the OT, see Briling, "Ezekiel 38-39 and the Origins of Jewish Apocalyptic," 108-09.

nations and to assert the sovereignty of Yahweh over the world. Against the bleakness of exile, this oracle therefore depicts a picture of hope for the exiles that vindication and judgment will eventually be Yahweh's.

Part Two: The Examination of the New Testament Passages

A literary analysis of Revelation 19:11-21:8

In the second chapter of this thesis we already observed that Revelation 19:11-21:8 is embraced by the two antithetical sections, the judgment of the great harlot Babylon (17:1-19:10) and the coming of the bride the new Jerusalem (21:9-22:9). There we also observed that this middle section of the last six chapters of Revelation functions as a transition, leading the thought of the texts from judgment to restoration. But how is this section constructed?

This middle section, in A. Y. Collins' view,⁵⁶ contains a serial of seven unnumbered visions, which are all introduced by καὶ ἐῖδον (19:11, 17, 19; 20:1, 4, 11; 21:1). But as R. Bauckham points out,⁵⁷ Collins' division falls short at her totally ignoring the καὶ ἐῖδον in 20:12. Eight, therefore, should be the number of visions contained in this passage. The author of Revelation at places indeed constructs his work in a septenary format, but whenever he does so, an ordinal number is always explicitly given when a new act or vision is introduced.⁵⁸ It is not likely, therefore, that John here intends to construct this passage by such a marker. The introductory formula, καὶ ἐῖδον, does indicate a new literary beginning, but this does not necessarily mean that a new theme is ushered in. As will be made clear in the following analysis, the content or theme of the visions is the decisive criterion in determining the division of this passage.

It is clear now that Revelation 19:11-21:8 contains eight visions marked by the eight καὶ ἐῖδον. But how do these eight visions relate to one another? The first

⁵⁶ *Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (Montana: Scholars Press, 1976), 15-16.

⁵⁷ *The Climax*, 5-6.

⁵⁸ This is also true to those texts that are of triad in character, namely, the three woes (8:13; 9:12; 11:14), and the three angels flying in the midair (14:6-11).

two visions (19:11-16, 17-18), at first glance, seem unrelated. For, while the former one depicts, with vivid imagery, the coming of a mighty warrior, the latter records the angel's words, summoning the birds to the banquet of God. But when we come to the third vision (19:19-21), it becomes plain that these two visions are rhetorically necessary and complementary to each other. For in this third vision we learn that many eminent motifs which appeared in the first two visions are integrated. These motifs include: the one who rides on the horse (vv. 11, 19, 21), the conflicting armies (vv. 14, 19), the killing by the sword issuing from the mouth of the one who rides on the horse (vv. 15, 21), and the birds' gorging themselves with the flesh of the defeated warriors (vv. 18, 21).⁵⁹ In other words, the first two seemingly unrelated visions are rhetorically given first so to prepare the readers for the third vision, the one that relates, expeditiously, the coming of the mighty warrior and his victory. In a word, the first three visions constitute a literary unit.

The motif of one thousand years which appears once in each of the six verses, 20: 2-7, ties visions 4 and 5 together as a sub-unit (20:1-3, 4-7 respectively). Though the theme of 20:4-6 seems not closely associated with that of 20:1-3, the echoing of the phrase ὅταν τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη (v. 7) with the phrase ἄχρι τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη (v. 3) indicates that the two visions are bound together. That Satan consistently plays an important role in both visions (vv. 1-3; 7-10) also suggests that these two visions are to be taken together.

Turning to vision 6, it is clear that a judge alone on his judgment throne does not constitute a complete forensic scene (20:11). This scene needs the accused. So they are brought forward to the scene and receive their sentences (20:12-15). The logical flow of thought, therefore, binds visions 6 and 7 as one literary unit.⁶⁰

Vision 8 (21:1-8) links itself, as Giblin indicated,⁶¹ with the two visions before it in that (1) it continues the forensic scene introduced in vision six (21:3, cf.

⁵⁹ See Giblin, "Structural and Thematic Correlations in the Theology of Revelation 16-22," 500. Integration, of course, is only part of the contribution of the third vision. Its identifying the antagonist of Christ adds, on the one hand, new element to the text, and on the other hand connects itself, as well as the two visions before it, with the former parts of the book (e.g., chs. 11, 13) where the beast also appears.

⁶⁰ The logical closeness of these two visions is probably the reason why Yarbrow Collins totally ignores the καὶ εἶδον of 20:12 which introduces a new vision.

⁶¹ "Structural and Thematic Correlations in the Theology of Revelation 16-22," 500.

20:11), and (2) it complements the motif of judgment/death of visions 6 and 7 with the theme of reward/life (21:3-7). But the main characteristic of this vision, namely, the newness of the coming state, which is demonstrated not only in its three-fold use of *καὶνός* in verses 1-2 but also in the climatic proclamation Ἴδοὺ καὶνὰ ποιῶ πάντα (Behold, I am making all things new, v. 5), seems to suggest that it may be better to let this vision stand on its own feet.

In terms of theme, therefore, the eight visions in view fall into four sub-units. In the order in which they appear in the texts, these four sub-units are the Parousia (or the second Advent of Christ,⁶² 19:11-21), the Millennium (20:1-10), the Great White Throne Judgment (20:11-15), and the Coming of the New Heaven and New Earth and the Descending of the New Jerusalem (21:1-8). The appropriateness of this division is further supported by the fact that these four sub-units are equally concluded by the same theme, i.e., the lake of fire, the final destination of the adversaries of God (19:20-21; 20:10; 20:14-15; 21:8). For facility, these four events, henceforth, will be termed as the Parousia, the Millennium, the Final Judgment, and the Coming of the New Heaven and Earth.

A comparison of Revelation 19:17-21, 20:7-10 with Ezekiel 38-39

In this section of the chapter we intend to see how the Gog oracle has been alluded to in Revelation 19-20. For the reason of convenience, the investigation of the use of Ezekiel 39:17-21 in Revelation 19:17-21 will be given in two case studies (R19-1 and R19-2). Comments on each of these two case studies will be offered before a general conclusion is drawn. Following these then is the examination of the second use of the Gog oracle in Revelation 19-20, i.e., the allusion of Revelation 20:7-10 to Ezekiel 38-39 (R20-1).

⁶² For identifying the mighty warrior of 19:11-16 as Christ, cf. 1:5, 14, 16; 3: 7, 14.

Case R19-1 (Ezek 39:17b in Rev 19:17b)⁶³

Rev 19:17b	Ezek 39:17b (LXX)	Ezek 39:17b (MT)
καὶ ἔκραξεν ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων <u>πᾶσιν</u> <u>τοῖς ὀρνέοις</u> τοῖς πετομένοις ἐν μεσουρανίῃματι, <u>Δεῦτε</u> <u>συνάχθητε</u> εἰς το δεῖπνον τὸ <u>μέγα</u> τοῦ θεοῦ	εἰπὸν παντὶ ὀρνέῳ πετεινῷ καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ πεδίου συνάχθητε καὶ ἔρχεσθε <u>συνάχθητε</u> ἀπο πάντων τῶν περικύκλω ἐπι τὴν θυσίαν μου ἣν τέθυκα ὑμῖν θυσίαν <u>μεγάλην</u> ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραὴλ καὶ φάγεσθε κρέα καὶ πίεσθε αἷμα	אָמַר לְצִפּוֹר כָּל-כָּנָף וּלְכָל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה הַקִּבְצוּ וּבֹאוּ הָאֳסָפוּ מִסָּבִיב עַל-זִבְחִי אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי זֹבֵחַ לָכֶם זֹבֵחַ גָּדוֹל עַל הָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָכַלְתֶּם בָּשָׂר וּשְׁתִּיתֶם דָּם:

The words of the angel summoning the birds to God's banquet (Rev 19:17b) find parallelism in Ezekiel 39:17b. (1) The phrase, אָמַר לְצִפּוֹר כָּל-כָּנָף, corresponds to λέγων πᾶσιν τοῖς ὀρνέοις τοῖς πετομένοις, with the changing of the place of כָּל and the offering of a participle (πετομένοις) for כָּנָף.⁶⁴ (2) The two imperatives, וּבֹאוּ הַקִּבְצוּ, accords with Δεῦτε συνάχθητε, except that the Greek words are rendered in a reverse order.⁶⁵ (3) זֹבֵחַ גָּדוֹל is offered as τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ μέγα, which is a banquet τοῦ θεοῦ. This genitive reflects the pronominal suffixes of זִבְחִי and of אֲנִי. As C. G. Ozanne points out, τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ is "designed to contrast with τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ γάμου τοῦ ἄρνίου" in Revelation 19:9.⁶⁶

The ones being invited to the banquet of God in Revelation are birds of prey; whereas the ones being summoned to the sacrificial meal in Ezekiel are the birds and the beasts of the field. This omission of the beast from the scene is not difficult to explain. In Revelation the beast (θηρίον) constantly stands for one of the figures of antichrist⁶⁷ and here the scene is how the beast is to be destroyed, so it seems logic to

⁶³ Ezek 39:4c, לָעֵיט צִפּוֹר כָּל-כָּנָף וְחַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה לְאָכְלָהּ (I will give you to birds of prey of every kind and to the wild animals to be devoured), is also a possible source for Rev 19:17b. But since the wording of Revelation 19:17b comes closer to that of Ezek 39:17b, and since Ezek 39:17-20 is an exposition of Ezek 39:4 (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 298), I here will only examine the relation of Rev 19:17b to Ezek 39:17b.

⁶⁴ See also Ozanne, *The Influence*, 129.

⁶⁵ Since הַקִּבְצוּ and הָאֳסָפוּ are synonyms, so it is possible to see that the first two imperatives, וּבֹאוּ הַקִּבְצוּ, are shortened to one word, Δεῦτε, and that הָאֳסָפוּ corresponds to συνάχθητε. In this case, however, the wording parallelism between these two texts still stands.

⁶⁶ *The Influence*, 129. But Ozanne gives an incorrect reference (i.e., 19:19).

⁶⁷ Of 39 occurrences in the book, only once it refers to the wild animals of the earth (6:8).

dismiss it from the banquet. In other words, the readers would totally be confused if the beast is also summoned to the banquet to devour its own flesh.

Case R19-2 (Ezek 39:18, 20 in Rev 19:18, 21b)

Rev 19:18	Ezek 39:18 (LXX)	Ezek 39:18 (MT)
ἵνα <u>φάγητε</u> σάρκας βασιλέων καὶ σάρκας χιλιάρχων καὶ σάρκας <u>ἰσχυρῶν</u> καὶ σάρκας <u>ἵππων</u> καὶ τῶν καθημένων ἐπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ σάρκας πάντων ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων καὶ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων.	κρέα γιγάντων <u>φάγεσθε</u> καὶ αἶμα ἀρχόντων τῆς γῆς πίεσθε κριοὺς καὶ μόσχους καὶ τράγους καὶ οἱ μόσχοι ἐστεατωμένοι πάντες	בְּשָׂרֵי גִבּוֹרִים תֹּאכְלוּ וְדָם־נְשִׂאֵי הָאָרֶץ תִּשְׁתּוּ אֵילִים כְּרִים וְעִתּוּדִים כְּרִים מְרִיאֵי בָשָׂן כָּלֵם:
Rev 19:21b	Ezek 39:20 (LXX)	Ezek 39:20 (MT)
καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄρνεα <u>ἐχορτάσθησαν</u> ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτῶν.	καὶ ἐμπλησθήσεσθε ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου <u>ἵππων</u> καὶ ἀναβάτην γίγαντα καὶ πάντα ἄνδρα πολεμιστήν λέγει κύριος	שְׁבַעְתֶּם עַל־שִׁלְחָנִי סוּם וְרָכַב גִּבּוֹר וְכָל־אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה נָאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה:

The purpose (ἵνα) of summoning the birds to God's banquet is then revealed in Revelation 19:18. Four groups of military agents, namely, the kings, the commanders, the strong ones and the horses and those who ride upon them, are said to be devoured by the birds. Ozanne suggests that with difference in order, this menu finds parallels Ezekiel 39:18 and 20, as βασιλέων corresponds to נְשִׂאֵי הָאָרֶץ (v. 18), χιλιάρχων to אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה (v. 20), ἰσχυρῶν to גִּבּוֹרִים (v. 18), and ἵππων καὶ τῶν καθημένων ἐπ’ αὐτῶν to סוּם וְרָכַב (v. 20).⁶⁸ A closer look, however, shows that his suggestion is not totally correct. The most obvious problem is that χιλιάρχων does not correspond to אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה. One might say that χιλιάρχος belongs to the category of כָּל־אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה (all kinds of warriors), but the Greek word does not correspond, exactly, to the Hebrew phrase. Furthermore, the

⁶⁸ *The Influence*, 129.

correspondence of ἵππων to סוס is all right, but to parallel τῶν καθημένων ἐπ' αὐτῶν with רֶכֶב is problematic. For the רֶכֶב here, in Zimmerli and Allen's view, means chariot horses or chargers,⁶⁹ not riders of horses. Revelation's menu, therefore, does not exactly parallel to that of Ezekiel. But on the whole, two things are certain. (1) The number of the military agents in both texts is the same. (2) The picture presented in both passages is quite similar. For, in the correspondences of חַאֲכָלִי (Ezek 39:18) to φάγητε (Rev 19:18) and of וְשָׂבַע עֲתִם (Ezek 39:20) to ἐχορτάσθησαν (Rev 19:21), it is clear that the birds are summoned not only to eat the flesh of those defeated, but to eat their flesh *to the full*. "All unnecessary padding,"⁷⁰ such as rams, lambs, goats and bulls, has been left out by the author, with the substitution of the "free men and slaves and the small and great ones" (ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων καὶ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων) to the menu. The two phrase, οἱ ἐλευθέροι καὶ οἱ δούλοι and οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι, on the one hand, refers to the totality of a group of people,⁷¹ but on the other hand, brings us back to 13:16 where the two phrases are used to denote to those who have associated themselves with the beast by accepting a seal upon their right hands or upon their foreheads.⁷² Hence, the nuance here is that *all those who allied themselves with the beast* will be defeated. As a result, the finality of the battle is emphasized. This addition, therefore, is perfectly fitted in its context. The reason for omitting the "drinking of the blood," however, is not clear. Perhaps to omit such an image is to avoid confusion, because the "drinking of blood" has been symbolically used as an act of persecution of the saints (17:6); or perhaps the omission is simply because the act is not suitable for the birds.

⁶⁹ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 294; Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 202. In most of the cases, רֶכֶב means chariots, but both scholars think that the רֶכֶב here means "chariot horses" as the one does in 2 Sam 8:4. See also Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 422.

⁷⁰ Ozanne, *The Influence*, 142.

⁷¹ The phrase, οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι, appears five times in Revelation. It refers to the totality of the saints (11:18, 19:5); to the sum of the allies of the beast (13:16, 19:18); or to all mankind (20:12). οἱ ἐλευθέροι καὶ οἱ δούλοι, on the other hand, is found in 13:16 and in 6:15. In the former case, it is used to denote all social classes who have associated themselves with the beast by accepting a seal on their right hands. In the latter case, the phrase refers to all social classes who, together with the kings, the magnates and the generals and the rich and the powerful of the earth, hid themselves in the caves and among the rocks of the mountains in the day of judgment.

⁷² In Revelation, this is the only other place where the two phrases appear together.

The above two case studies, therefore, suggest that Ezekiel 39:17-20 has been alluded to in Revelation 19:17-21. This allusion, in Mounce's words, "is a free interpretation of Ezekiel's oracle."⁷³ This means that the images and themes of Revelation are taken from its antecedent, but in terms of verbal connection, the author here "is giving an independent rendering of the Hebrew."⁷⁴ Assorting this case in the category of "Utilisation certaine," Vanhoye appropriately places it under the sub-category of "libre."⁷⁵ The above scrutiny also make it manifest that the wordings of Revelation come closer to that of the MT rather than that of the LXX. In case R19-1, for example, our text does not follow the LXX's ἔρχεσθε but uses Δεῦτε for וָבֹא. In case R19-2, the wording of Revelation even goes further from that of the LXX.

Case R20-1 (Ezek 38:2, 4a, 7 in Rev 20:8)

Rev 20:8	Ezek 38:2 (LXX)	Ezek 38:2 (MT) ⁷⁶
καὶ ἐξελεύσεται πλανῆσαι τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσιν γωνίαις τῆς γῆς, τὸν <u>Γῶγ</u> καὶ <u>Μαγῶγ</u> , <u>συναγαγεῖν</u> αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης.	υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ <u>Γῶγ</u> καὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦ <u>Μαγῶγ</u> ἄρχοντα Ρως Μοσοχ καὶ Θοβελ καὶ προφήτευσον ἐπ' αὐτὸν	בֶּן-אָדָם שִׁים פָּנָיִךְ אֶל-גּוֹג אֶרֶץ הַמָּגוֹג נָשִׂיא רֹאשׁ מִשָּׁד וְחָבֵל וְהִנָּבֵא עָלָיו:
	Ezek 38:4a (LXX)	Ezek 38:4a (MT)
	καὶ <u>συνάξω</u> σε καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύνάμειν σου	וְשׁוּבָתִיךָ וְנִתְחִי חַיִּים בְּלִחְיֶיךָ וְהוֹצֵאתִי אוֹתְךָ וְאֶת-כָּל-חֵילֶיךָ
	Ezek 38:7 (LXX)	Ezek 38:7 (MT)
	ἐτοιμάσθητι ἐτοίμασον σεαυτὸν σὺ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ συναγωγή σου οἱ <u>συνηγμένοι</u> μετὰ σοῦ καὶ ἔσθι μοι εἰς προφυλακὴν	הֲכֵן וְהָכֵן לְךָ אֹתָהּ וְכָל-קָהָלְךָ הַנִּקְהָלִים עֲלֶיךָ וְהָיִיתָ לָהֶם לְמִשְׁמָר

⁷³ *Revelation*, 348.
⁷⁴ Charles, *Revelation II*, 138.
⁷⁵ "L'utlisation," 476. See also 440-41.
⁷⁶ LXX⁶² omits גִּגְיָה גִּרְיָה, but 𐤂, Vulgate, and Targum attest 𐤂. For details, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 283.

Concerning the eschatological warfare described in Revelation 20:7-10, scholars generally agree that this event originates from Ezekiel's oracle against Gog and Magog (38-39:16).⁷⁷ But concerning how these two passages, at the level of words, are related, there seems no consensus. The following table clearly demonstrates this.

Some scholars' suggestions on the OT references in Revelation 20:8-10⁷⁸

	UBS ³	NA ²⁶	Swete	Lust	Vanhoye	Ozanne	Vogelgesang
Rev	Ezek						
20:8	38:2	38-39:16	38:1, 4	38:2, 19, 15	38:2 (39:1), 6 (38:9, 15, 22; 39:4), 7, 15 (L)	38:2 (echo)	38:2,5
20:9	39:6	38:22, 39:6					
20:9-10	38:22						38:22, 39:6
20:10				38:22			

The reason for this diversity is probably that the author of Revelation has condensed one and a half chapters of his source (Ezek 38:1-39:16) into two verses (Rev 20:8-9). Thus within one NT text (e.g., 20:8), many different OT source-texts could be traced. In view of wording similarities, the effect of this condensation in this particular case is that not too many verbal parallels are found. In addition to the two proper names, Gog and Magog, there is only one correspondence between the two accounts: συναγαγεῖν (Rev 20:8) to συνάξω (Ezek 38:4, LXX), to συνηγμένοι (Ezek 38:7, LXX), and to הַנִּקְהָלִים (Ezek 38:7, MT). Even in the case of the two proper names, John does not literally follow Ezekiel's "Gog of the land of Magog," but introduces them as the two distinctive representatives of the hordes of Satan (20:8). This alteration, however, is not difficult to explain. For attested by *Sibylline Oracles* 3:319, 513, Magog, formerly a geographical term, has been transformed, sometime before or contemporary to John's days,⁷⁹ into a personage, and joined with Gog as the

⁷⁷ E. g., Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 256; Ford, *Revelation*, 356; Caird, *Revelation*, 256; C. H. Giblin, *The Book of Revelation* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 188; Harrington, *Revelation*, 200; Thomas, *Revelation 8-22*, 423-24; K. G. Kuhn, "Γῶγ καὶ Μαγῶγ," *TDNT* 1: 789-91.

⁷⁸ Swete, *The Apocalypse*, cl; Lust, "The Order," 180; Vanhoye, "L'utlisation," 476; Ozanne, *The Influence*, 187; Vogelgesang, *The Interpretation*, 36.

⁷⁹ Dated by J. J. Collins between 163-45 B.C. (*The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1. ed. by J. H. Charlesworth [N. Y.: Doubleday, 1983], 354-55; see also 355 note 11 for different opinions on the date of this literature. But even if we follow V. Nikiprowetzky's dating, i.e., first century A.D.,

co-leader of the hordes.⁸⁰ In other words, John here is just following the terminology of his days.⁸¹

Compared to the scantiness of verbal connections between the Revelation 20:7-10 and Ezekiel 38-39, the structural and thematic parallelisms found between these two texts are by far larger in quantity. By structural parallelism I mean that the two accounts in view are constructed in the same order, i.e., the Messianic reign is followed by an attack of Gog/Magog; cf. the order of the events in Ezekiel 37; 38-39 and in Revelation 20:1-6; 7-10.⁸² In addition to this, an order in which Gog's assault is followed by a restoration is also found in both texts; cf. Ezekiel 38-39; 40-48, and Revelation 20:1-10; 21f.⁸³

By thematic parallelisms, on the other hand, I mean the two episodes contain several similar motifs and imageries. First, in both accounts, there is a huge number of armies gathered for war; cf. the phrase "they are as numerous as the sands of the sea" (ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, Rev 20:8b) with the lengthy list of armies from all nations in Ezekiel 38:5-6, of which legion is later portrayed as "a cloud covering the land" in the same chapter (vv. 9, 15-16). Second, the armies of Revelation are said to be composed of the nations at the four corners of the earth (τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσιν γωνίαις τῆς γῆς, Rev 20:8). This characteristic reminds immediately of the universal involvement of the Gog attack in Ezekiel. For, as noted earlier, the nations named in the Gog oracle are given in two sets of

our claim here still stand).

⁸⁰ *Frg. Tg.* on Num 11:26 reads, "And two men remained in the camp, one's name was Eldad, and the other's name was Medad; and the holy spirit rested upon them ... and they both prophesied together and said: 'In the final end of days, Gog and Magog and their armies will go up against Jerusalem; and they will fall into the hands of the King Messiah'" (M. L. Klein, trans., *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to their Extant Sources*. Vol. II [Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980], 66). This piece of literature has been taken by Ford (*Revelation* 356-57) as evidence for the view of the first century A. D. on "Gog and Magog." But since the date of this literature is uncertain (M. L. Klein, trans., *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to their Extant Sources*. Vol. I [Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980], 23-25), the most we can say is that it preserves the tradition of Gog and Magog.

⁸¹ For the affiliation of Rabbinic view on Gog and Magog to that of John, see Kuhn, "Τὼν καὶ Μαγῶν," 790-91; where he maintains that John's account of Gog and Magog "stands much closer to the more scriptural apocalyptic of the Rabbis than to the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings" (791). For, like the Rabbis, John has explicitly mentioned the names, Gog and Magog, and constituted their attack upon God's people as a part of his eschatological schema.

⁸² The rareness of this order in the OT adds weight to the case.

⁸³ For details, see next chapter of this thesis.

merismus, which represent all four points of the compass. Third, the motion of the hostile armies toward God's people is the same in both narratives; cf. the ἀνέβησαν of Revelation 20:9 with the עָלָה of Ezekiel which repeatedly appears in 38:9, 11, 16, 39:2.⁸⁴ Fourth, each episode portrays a scene similar to the other in which God's people are situated in the middle of the stage and surrounded by countless enemies (cf. Rev 20:9; Ezek 38:12). Fifth and finally, in both passages the hostile armies are said to be destroyed not by the effort of God's people but by God's own intervention (cf. Rev 20:9; Ezek 38:18-22; 39:6).

These structural and thematic parallels, together with the verbal connections, suggest that the Gog oracle is the OT source for Revelation 20:7-10. In other words, by these points of contact John here has made an allusion to the Gog oracle of Ezekiel.

So far we have noted that the Gog oracle has been alluded to in both Revelation 19:17-21 (cases R19-1 and R19-2) and 20:7-10 (case R20-1). But how is this OT oracle used in the NT? What differences did John make in his employing this Ezekielian oracle?

To begin with, we will firstly focus on the allusion John made in Revelation 19:17-21. This passage, according to our earlier analysis, belongs to 19:11-21, a passage that is composed of three visions. There we also noted that the first two visions, which in turn concern the coming of the rider of the white horse (19:11-16) and the summoning of the birds to gorge the corpses of Gog's armies (19:17-18), are given first so to be integrated in the third vision. In other words, Gog's defeat is connected with the coming of the mighty warrior described in the first vision (19:11-16). This mighty warrior, as widely recognized,⁸⁵ is the Messiah portrayed

⁸⁴ In the LXX, except for Ezek 39:2 where ἀναβιβῶ (the causal form of ἀναβαίνω) is used, ἀναβαίνω is found in all other three Ezekielian texts. It is worthy to note here that the ἀναβαίνω of Rev 20:9, in Bauer's view (BAGD, 666), is not a verb describing the moving of the troops of Gog and Magog, but "is better suited to Satan (vs. 7) who has recently been freed, and who comes up again fr. the abyss (vs. 3)." This suggestion, however, is questionable. John, as well as the prophet Ezekiel, is here more likely following "the custom of referring to the ascent to the backbone of central Palestine and the situation of Jerusalem." (Thomas, *Revelation 8-22*, 425).

⁸⁵ E.g., Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 250-54; Charles, *Revelation II*, 131-133; Mounce, *Revelation*, 343-48; Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 279-81; A. Y. Collins, *The Apocalypse* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1979), 135; Roloff, *Revelation*, 217-19; T. Longman, "The Divine Warrior: The New Testament Use of an Old Testament Motif," *WTJ* 44 (1982), 290-307; especially 297-300.

especially in Isaiah 11:1-5⁸⁶ (cf. Rev 19:11, 15, 21)⁸⁷ and 63:1-3 (cf. Rev 19:13, 15). Yet since this messianic warrior is also called "Faithful and True" (v. 11; cf. Rev 1:5, 3:7, 14) and since he is pictured as the one whose eyes are like a flame of fire (v.12; cf. Rev 1:14, 2:18) and from whose mouth issues a sharp sword (v. 15; cf. Rev 1:16, 2:12, 16),⁸⁸ he is here to be identified with the risen Christ (Rev 1:5), the Lord of the churches (Rev 2-3).⁸⁹ This, therefore, indicates that John here has made a reinterpretation of the Gog oracle. For what was said to be accomplished by Yahweh, namely, the defeating of Gog, is now said to be done by Christ.

This association of Christ with the eschatological battle, however, is not a new theme in the book. As R. Bauckham observes, in the earlier part of the book (5:5-6, 7:2-14, 14:1-5) Christ has already been pictured as the conquering Messiah, who through his sacrificial death has defeated the evil of this world.⁹⁰ In other words, he is presented as the one who carries out the plan and will of God.⁹¹ This aspect of Christ, in Revelation 19:11-16, is not only reflected in all those warrior images attributed to him, but also highlighted in the name given to him, i.e., the Word of God (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, v. 13). For, this title, as A. F. Johnson aptly puts,⁹² refers to Jesus who "in his earthly life had borne reliable and consistent witness in all his words and actions to the purpose of God and had been completely obedient in doing this," and thus "in him the will of God finds full expression."⁹³ In a word, it is based on the work of Christ that John makes such a reinterpretation.

⁸⁶ Ps 2:9 has also been suggested as one of the sources behind this Revelation passage.

⁸⁷ For a detailed analysis of John's use of Isaiah 11:1-5 in Revelation 19:11-16, see Fekkes, *Isaiah*, 223-25.

⁸⁸ The portrait of the mighty warrior as the one who rules the nations with a rod of iron in verse 15 (cf. Rev 12:5) suggests also that what John has in mind here is the risen Christ.

⁸⁹ Maintaining that the book of Revelation is a Jewish work, Ford, however, suggests that the mighty warrior here is not to be identified with the risen Christ, but the anointed one of Yahweh, the regal and priestly human messiah who is to come to wage war against the first beast, the Roman empire (*Revelation*, 317-24, 218). If her suggestion is the case, the claim we intend to make here holds true still. For, following Ford's view, John is here reinterpreting Gog's defeat that it is accomplished not by Yahweh himself but by a human agent of Yahweh.

⁹⁰ "The Apocalypse as Christian War Scroll," in *The Climax*, 210-37. It is necessarily to note that Revelation 17:14 and the passage in view here have not been dealt with in Bauckham's work, but since these two related passages (i.e., the later is the elaboration of the former) concern the same theme, they should be read together with the former three related passages.

⁹¹ This is especially clear in 5:1-10.

⁹² "Revelation" in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*. vol. 12. ed. F. E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 575.

⁹³ Admittedly, scholars have different opinions on the relation of this title to the one in the Fourth

Turning to the allusion John made in Revelation 20:7-10 to the Gog oracle, one immediately notices that the plotters in these two accounts are different. In Ezekiel, Gog was said to be brought up by God himself to fight against Israel (38:4⁹⁴), while in Revelation, Gog and Magog are said to be deceived by Satan for eschatological warfare (20:8). But in considering Revelation 20:7 where the text explicitly indicates that the loosing of Satan from his prison (λυθήσεται) is the presupposition for the things that follow, God is still the initiator of the eschatological battle. The real difference between these two passages, hence, is John's inclusion of Satan into the scene.

This inclusion, however, is not a sudden move. From his first appearance in the book, Satan is introduced to the readers as the antichrist. In Revelation 12-13, he emerges first as a dreadful dragon, waiting before the woman, the mother of Messiah, so to devour her child at birth (12:3-5).⁹⁵ As his plan failed, he then turns to the mother, waging war against her and the rest of her children, i.e., the followers of the Lamb (Rev 12:7-17).⁹⁶ This warfare is then pictured in the following two visions, in which his two earthly agents, the sea-beast and the earth-beast, come into the scene as the persecutors of the saints (Rev 13:1-18). In a word, the biography of Satan

Gospel. J. Roloff (*Revelation*, 218-19), for example, argues that the characteristic of the *Logos* of the Fourth Gospel, i.e., as preexistent mediator of creation, is not what the Revelation title means. G. R. Beasley-Murray (*Revelation*, 280), on the other hand, proposes that "in view of the circulation in the early Church of the logos-type Christology (attested in Col. 1:15ff., and echoed by John himself in 3:14), it would seem likely that some notion of the role of cosmic mediator will have been present to John's mind in using the term. Since the Parousia initiates the eschatological process completed in the new world, it may be held that the title *the Word of God* is fitting for him who both initiates the creation and fulfills its purpose in the new creation." Though differing as to the relation of Revelation to the Four Gospel in this particular instance, scholars, to a large extent, agree that the Word of God here expresses the relationship of Jesus to God: "in him God reveals himself in word and act; he is the executor of God's word and will" (Roloff, *Revelation*, 218; see also, Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 252; Caird, *Revelation*, 240; Mounce, *Revelation*, 345-46).

⁹⁴ The phrase וְשׁוּבָהּ יָדְךָ וְנָתַתִּי תַחֲסִים בְּלִחְיֶיךָ (I will turn you around and put hooks into your jaws, Ezek 38:4a) is not found in the LXX and has been seen as a gloss (e.g., Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 200). But even if that is the case, God is still the one who will bring out Gog (וְהוֹצֵאתִי, Ezek 38:4b) to attack Israel.

⁹⁵ Concerning the identification of the woman in Revelation 12, scholars are indeed of different opinions. But as to the identification of the male-child, the common view is that this child is Christ. See, e.g., Alford, *Apocalypse*, 668; Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 150-51; Charles, *Revelation I*, 320; Mounce, *Revelation*, 238; Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 199-201; Collins, *Apocalypse*, 86; Giblin, *Revelation*, 127.

⁹⁶ For an analysis of the structure and thematic parallels between Revelation 12 and 20, see W. H. Shea, "The Parallel Literary Structure of Revelation 12 and 20," *AUSS* 23 (1985), 37-54; J. A. Hughes, "Revelation 20:4-6 and the Question of the Millennium," *WTJ* 35 (1973), 283-86.

narrated in the earlier part of book focuses on his antagonism to God's Messiah and to the messianic community. This aspect of his biography, however, does not constitute the whole story, because it does not have a proper ending. Thus he emerges the last time at the end of the book (20:1-10). Like what he used to do, he is coming, though hiding behind Gog and Magog, to attack the saints, but unlike what he has achieved previously, he is this time facing his final destination, i.e., the lake of fire.⁹⁷

In terms of aesthetics, John's inclusion of Satan in the eschatological battle is surely a proper act, because it creates, on the one hand, a balance in the story, and on the other hand, a climax to the book. But this is not all, for this inclusion is also made with a theological consideration. Earlier in John's association of Christ with the final battle, we already noted that such a connection is made with the consideration of the work of Christ, a work epitomized in his defeating the evil power of this world on the cross. This observation, then, leads us to see that John's inclusion of Satan into the eschatological scene is in fact in tune with what he has done earlier, for once Christ is invited into the scene, the one being fatally defeated by him is in no way to be left out. In other words, having reinterpreted the Gog oracle in the light of the Christ event, John is bound to make a corresponding reinterpretation, i.e., to include Satan to the final judgment scene.

To sum up, in the above analyses of the similarities and differences between the Gog oracle and the two Revelation passages, we have seen how the Gog oracle has been used in the last book of the Scripture. But what is the purpose of this usage? On the book as a whole, A. F. Johnson maintains that the purpose of the

⁹⁷ The inclusion of Satan at the end of the book constitutes only a part of the entire scheme of the second half of the book. The following diagram offered by K. A. Strand clearly indicates this ("Chiastic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 16 [1978], 401-8).

- A. Dragon (12:3)
- B. Sea-Beast (13:1)
- C. Earth-Beast (13:11)
- D. Babylon (14:8)
- E. Beast-Worshipers (14:9)
- E' Beast-Worshipers (16:2)
- D' Babylon (16:19)
- C' Earth-Beast (19:20)
- B' Sea-Beast (19:20)
- A' Dragon (20:2)

author is "to encourage authentic Christian discipleship by explaining Christian suffering and martyrdom in the light of how Jesus' death brought victory over evil. John is concerned to show that the martyrs (e.g., Antipas [2:13]) would be vindicated. He also discloses the end both of evil and of those who follow the beast (19:20-21; 20:10, 15); he also describes the ultimate issue of the Lamb's victory and of those who follow him."⁹⁸ This observation, though made on the book as a whole, is perfectly fitted for the passages we are dealing with here, for what comes between the victory of Christ (19:11-21) and the final destruction of Satan (20:7-10) is exactly the enthronement of the martyrs, who on their thrones reign with Christ for a thousand years (20:4-6). John's use of the Gog oracle here is, therefore, not only aesthetic and theological, but also pastoral.⁹⁹ His aim is to encourage the churches to bear the witness of Jesus even to the point of death.

A comparison of John's hermeneutic with Ezekiel's

If what we have said above is the case, the analogy between John and Ezekiel in this particular case comes immediately into view. First, the *Sitz-im-Leben* for John to employ this tradition into his writing is quite similar to that of Ezekiel. For, like the prophet in exile facing a people in suffering (Ezek 33:21), John in the island of Patmos is also confronted with a similar situation (Rev 1:9). Second, in facing the mystery of suffering, John's reaction is similar to Ezekiel's. Like the prophet before him, he turns also to the tradition laid down by their forefathers for inspiration. Yet his inquiry, like the prophet's, is not just done for theological reason but made also with a pastoral consideration. Third, the analogy of John with Ezekiel in this case is also seen in his handling of the Gog oracle. In Ezekiel's case, we learned that in employing the tradition of the foe-from-the-north, the prophet has made some adjustments so to fit it into his theological agenda. These adjustments, as noted, include (1) the placing of the coming attack in a different time table, (2) the transformation of the foe into a international force, and (3) the adding of a new element to the tradition, i.e., the defeating of the foe. Now, in case of Revelation, we

⁹⁸ *Revelation*, 407.

⁹⁹ Swete, *The Apocalypse*, xciv; "in form it [the Book of Revelation] is an epistle, containing an apocalyptic prophecy; in spirit and inner purpose, it is pastoral."

have observed that, while employing the Gog oracle in his writing, John has also made some adjustments so as to fit this tradition into his own theological thinking. The time table of the prophet is indeed followed by him (i.e., the attack is said to come after the Millennium), but as to the identity of the foe and how the foe is to be defeated, John has his own idea. Surely his adding the new element to the tradition, i.e., Christ, and his transformation of the foe into a Satanic force give the tradition a new look, but the way he reinterprets the Gog oracle is in fact paralleled to what the prophet has done to the foe-from-the-north tradition. In this sense, then, John's hermeneutic is paralleled to Ezekiel's.

Part Three:

The Implication of John's Use of the Gog Oracle for the Understanding of Revelation 19-21

In part two above, we have seen that the Gog oracle is the OT source for both Revelation 19:17-21 and 20:7-10. This relationship, as manifested in the analyses given there, provides a proper background for our understanding of, in general and in details, the two Revelation passages. But since these two passages belong, respectively, to the Parousia and the Millennium accounts (19:11-21; 20:1-10), one would naturally wonder if this using of the same source in these two consecutive passages has any effect on our understanding of the relationship between the two eschatological events, particularly of the millennium issue. Five views on this issue will be in turn given below so to be evaluated by what we have observed above. The first two are posed by two individuals and the rest are opinions more commonly held by scholars.

J. W. Mealy

The first view to be examined is J. W. Mealy's. On the issue concerning the use of the Gog oracle in Revelation, Mealy first proposes that we have actually two

Gog oracles in Ezekiel 38-39 which are set in different contexts.¹⁰⁰ The first is in chapter 38 in which Gog's assault is said to come after Israel had been brought back from all nations and had settled in their land in peace for a long period of time (38:8, cf. also vv. 11-14). The second is in chapter 39 where Gog's attack and his defeat are said to happen "*before* the age of peace assumed in the former passage,"¹⁰¹ of which observation is based on the reading of Ezekiel 39:21-29 as the context of this oracle (39:1-20). On the basis of this, Mealy then states:

It is virtually undeniable that John sees these two entirely different contexts for the battles of Ezekiel 38 and 39. For he clearly sees the battle of Har-magedon, which inaugurates the millennium, as fulfilling the latter (cf. Rev. 19.17-18; Ezek. 39.17-20), and the battle ending the millennium as fulfilling the former (cf. Rev. 20.7-10; Ezek. 38.1; 38.22).¹⁰²

This explanation is attractive and surely will be welcome by the ones who insist that the four eschatological events described in Revelation 19:11-21:8 will in turn take place in the order as they appear in the book. For, in this reading, the burden to answer the question, "Why John gave us two eschatological battles here?" has been shifted to the shoulders of the OT scholars, who now need to answer "Why did Ezekiel give us two Gog attacks here?" This line of thinking, however, is problematic at least at two points; one is its understanding of Gog oracle, and the other is its understanding of John's way of using his OT materials.

In the first place, Mealy's observation that there are two Gog oracles in Ezekiel 38-39 is absolutely correct, but his assertion that these two oracles are set in different contexts is false. Ezekiel 39:21-9 immediately follows the second oracle, but this does not necessarily mean that this block of texts, especially verses 25ff. where the theme of Israel's returning from exile is explicitly stated, is to be read as the context of the preceding texts. The question, hence, is where does the Gog oracle end?

To this question, scholars have different opinions. Some maintain that Ezekiel 39:17-20 represents a mini-apocalypse and verses 21-9 a conclusion to

¹⁰⁰ *After the Thousand Years: Resurrection and Judgment in Revelation 20* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 131-2.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 132.

¹⁰² *Idem.*

chapters 34-37, thus ending the Gog oracle at 39:16.¹⁰³ Others hold that the oracle ends at 39:20, seeing verses 21-9 as a final expansion, in which verses 21-22 looks back to the Gog oracle, and verses 23-9 conclude the message of consolation starting from chapter 33 on.¹⁰⁴ Still others treat 39:21-4 as an encouraging conclusion to the Gog oracle, taking verses 25-9 as the conclusion to chapters 34-37.¹⁰⁵ The divergence among scholars, therefore, indicates that the issue at stake is not how one deals with verses 25-9 but verses 21-24. For not only does the messenger formula (לָכֵן כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה, v. 25) indicate the beginning of a new literary unit, but the "now" of the same verse (עַתָּה) clearly suggests that the perspective of verses 25-9 has been changed. In other words, the message that follows concerns not what Yahweh will do in the future, but the present need of the exiles. Having excluded the possibility of reading verses 25ff as the context for the second Gog oracle, the remaining task is to see if verses 21-4 suggest a pre-restoration standpoint or not. In my reading of these four verses, it seems that it provides no such hint. The main purpose of this passage is interpretation. It tells what will be the effect of God's defeating Gog upon his people and the nations (cf. the יָדַע in v. 22 and in v. 23).¹⁰⁶ It says nothing on when will be the time for Gog to make his assault. Hence, even if one takes verses 21-24 as a part of the Gog oracle, no conclusion can be drawn from it that the second oracle portrays an assault which is to come *before* Israel's returning to their land. We truly have two oracles, but both prophesy the same event. The points of emphasis of these two oracles are different, but they both reveal one eschatological battle. If, as Mealy claims it does, the oracle of Ezekiel 39 indeed relates a Gog assault before Israel's returning from exile, then how could one make sense of 39:2, "I will turn you around and drive you forward, and bring you up from the remotest parts of the north, and lead you against the mountains of Israel." For, if Israelites are still in exile, God's leading Gog to the mountains of Israel becomes an

¹⁰³ E.g., G. A. Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 421.

¹⁰⁴ This is Zimmerli's view, *Ezekiel* 2, 259. Allen holds a similar view on this, see his *Ezekiel* 20-48, 208.

¹⁰⁵ E.g., Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 521.

¹⁰⁶ See also Block, "Gog in Prophetic Tradition," 157.

act of nonsense, because these mountains have no resident. Whom, then, does Gog assail?

Mealy's view on how John uses the OT sources in this particular case is also questionable. The text as it stands truly relates two eschatological battles; one before and one after the Millennium (Rev 19:17-21; 20:7-10). But this does not necessarily imply that John got this idea from his source. As already noticed in the first chapter of this thesis, one of John's characteristics is his double or even triple use of a same source in the book. Thus, two battles do not necessarily mean two sources. Mealy's investigation on this matter is probably demanded by his presupposition that the eschatological events presented in Revelation 19:11-21:8 are to be taken chronologically.¹⁰⁷ But such a presupposition is also a subject of debate.

J. Lust

In dealing with the same issue, "why John gives his readers two eschatological battles?" J. Lust, like Mealy, resorts also to the OT source for explanation. But unlike Mealy, his solution is not based on a different reading of the Gog oracle, but on a textual consideration.¹⁰⁸ To begin with, Lust first compares Revelation 20-22 with the MT of Ezekiel 37-48 in the following manner:¹⁰⁹

<i>Revelation</i>	<i>Ezekiel</i>
1. The first resurrection: 20,4 and The Messianic millennial kingdom: 20, 4-6.	1. The revival of the dry bones: 37, 1-14 and The reunited kingdom governed by the Messianic king David: 37, 15-28.
2. The final battle against Gog and Magog: 20,1-10. ¹¹⁰	2. The final battle against Gog of Magog: 38-39.
2.a The second resurrection: 20, 11-15.	2.a -----
3. The descent of the heavenly Jerusalem: 21-22.	3. The vision of the New Temple and the New Jerusalem: 40-48.

Lust points out that in general John indeed follows the order of Ezekiel (Rev 18 to Ezek 26-27; Rev 21-22 to Ezek 40-48), but in the middle section (Rev 19-20 to Ezek 38-39) John seems to have mixed it all up. Not only does John refer anticipatively to

¹⁰⁷ Mealy, *After the Thousand Years*, 15-18.
¹⁰⁸ "The Order of the Final Events in Revelation and in Ezekiel," in *L'Apocalypse*, 179-83.
¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 179.
¹¹⁰ 20:7-10 ?

the defeat of Gog in chapter 19, to which subject he will pay more attention later on (20:7-10), but also returns to Ezekiel 37:27 in Revelation 21:3, with which subject he already dealt in 20:4. In addition, John inserts a final judgment scene (20:11-15) between the final battle and the descending of heavenly Jerusalem, which is not found in Ezekiel. These discrepancies were being explained, Lust summarizes, in various ways, such as John's stylistic freedom, his theological viewpoint, his dependency on other sources, or the corruption of the text. But all these explanations, Lust observes, concentrate mainly on the NT side, without considering that part of the problem may lie with the OT text. For before us are two text traditions, one of the MT and the other of the Greek Papyrus 967¹¹¹ and Codex Wirceburgensis.¹¹² The difference between these two text traditions is that the latter gives the final chapters of Ezekiel in the following order: 36-38-39-37-40ff.¹¹³ According to this latter text tradition, a table of comparison is then offered by Lust.¹¹⁴

<i>Revelation</i>	<i>Ezekiel</i>
1. The final battle against the beast: 19, 17-21	1. The final battle against
1a. The first resurrection and Messianic reign: 20, 4-6	1.a -----
The final battle against Gog and Magog: 20, 7-10	Gog and Magog: 38-39.
2. The second resurrection: 20, 11-15	2. The revival of the dry bones: 37
3. The descent of the heavenly Jerusalem: 21-22	3. The vision of the New Temple and of the New Israel: 40-48.

To lay out the Ezekiel texts in this sequence, Lust says, it is reasonable to see John (1) quoting Ezekiel 38-39 before referring to Ezekiel 37, and (2) picking up the

¹¹¹ Different parts of the codex have been published by different authors. For references, see "The Order," 181, note 6.

¹¹² This codex, says J. Lust, "represents, together with Tyconius, the earliest and best preserved form of the Veuts Latina text of Ezekiel" (Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript," *CBQ* 43 [1981], 518). See note 6 of the same page for the publication information of this codex.

¹¹³ The textual problem involved in this case is not just the different order of the texts, but includes also the omission of Ezekiel 36:23c-38 in the two MSS in view here. In other words, the order of the texts in the two MSS is as follows: 36:1-23b, 38-39, 37, 41-48. This omission, hence, complicates the situation and certainly invites attention. On this textual problem, scholars are largely of two opinions. Some, like Lust ("Ezekiel 36-40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript," 517-33), maintain that the two MSS preserved the original Ezekiel, while others, (e.g., Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 245; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20-48, xxviii, 177-78) suggest that the MT is the one to follow. But since our interest here is not the issue of originality, we will leave this issue open. Our concern here, specifically, is the validity of Lust's proposal that John knew these two text traditions and tried to mix them up, an issue we will deal with just now. For the latest treatment on this particular textual problem, see D. I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25-48* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 337-43.

¹¹⁴ "The Order," 181.

theme concerning God's promise of being with his people (37:27) in Revelation 21:3 before revealing the blue print of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev 21:9ff.).

This then leads Lust to ask "Which form of Ezekiel's book did John have before him?"¹¹⁵ To this question Lust suggests that the two text traditions were both at John's disposal. He knew both traditions and tried to mix them up. In doing so, John interpreted the scene of the revival of the dry bones as a first resurrection which is to be followed by a second one.

Lust's thesis is interesting and fresh. The order of the events preserved in Papyrus 967¹¹⁶ does answer some of the difficulties encountered otherwise by that of the MT. But like Mealy's thesis, Lust's is not free of problems. First, Lust's suggestion that John knew both text traditions is beyond what our present knowledge can attest, and his proposal that John is trying to mix the two text traditions into one is only a speculation. On John's use of the OT, what we do know is his constant practice, i.e., to incorporate different OT sources which deal with the same theme into his writing.¹¹⁷ Surely this acknowledgment does not exclude the possibility that John here is trying to mix the two text traditions in one, but to solidify such a claim, more examples are required.

Second, in addition to the characteristics of John mentioned above, the author of Revelation is also featured with his double or even triple use of a source in various places of the book. The double mention of the Gog's attack in Revelation, therefore, is not necessarily to be explained as the result of mixing two text traditions, but actually a reflection of the trait of the author. This trait of John, in this certain case, is in fact paralleled to that of Ezekiel. For, as noted earlier, the entire Gog passage is composed of two oracles (Ezek 38 and 39), and these two oracles, though with different emphases, describe the same battle. This feature of Ezekiel is further seen in Ezekiel 39, for in this oracle Gog's defeat is not only explicitly stated in verses 1-8, but also repeatedly and metaphorically emphasized in the three frames that followed: the spoiling of Gog (vv. 9-10); the burial of Gog (vv. 11-16), and the devouring of

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 182.

¹¹⁶ For convenience, we will infra not mention Codex Wirceburgensis but only Papyrus 967.

¹¹⁷ Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 59-103. The case that has been dealt with in the earlier part of this chapter is in line with Fekkes' observation.

Gog (vv. 17-20). In other words, this characteristic of Ezekiel offers an alternative, and more plausible, explanation to the question we are considering here, namely, why John gives his readers two eschatological battles.

Third, Lust's comparison of Revelation with the Ezekiel of Papyrus 967 indeed answers some of the difficulties encountered otherwise by the MT, but his comparison raises other problems. (1) The parallelism of the second resurrection (Rev 20:11-15) to the revival of the dry bones (Ezek 37), as Lust made in the second table above, is problematic. The second resurrection is, in fact, only presupposed in the scene of the great white throne judgment. The main theme of this vision is not the resurrection of Israel but the final judgment of the dead.¹¹⁸ Ezekiel 37 speaks of the revival of Israel so as *to reign* with the Messianic king David, but Revelation 20:11-15 speaks of the resurrection of the dead so as *to be judged*. They are totally different pictures and should not be paralleled to each other. (2) If the revival of the dry bones is indeed the counterpart of the second resurrection (Rev 20:11-15), then the millennial reign of the saints (20:4-6), which is the focus of the millennium account (20:1-10), is left alone without having a parallel item in Ezekiel. One is, therefore, required to ask from where does this millennium idea come and why John inserts this vision here. (3) If 20:4 refers to Ezekiel 37, as Lust claimed,¹¹⁹ then the blank Lust left after point "1.a" of the second table above should be filled with "God's promise to be with his people: 37, 27-28" or something similar. In doing so, the problem mentioned in point (2) above is partially solved, for we have something to parallel the vision of the millennial reign of the saints. But this creates another problem, namely, John has referred to Ezekiel 37 twice, once before and once after chapters 38-39, the puzzle that Lust is trying to solve. In sum, Lust's thesis is not a satisfactory one. It creates as many difficulties as it solves.

¹¹⁸ Of many other things, the scope of the judgment is a debated issue. Some think all the human race but others suggest only the non-believers are the subject of the judgment. But as to our present concern, we only need to note the difference between this scene and Ezekiel's vision.

¹¹⁹ "The Order," 180.

Chronology

Having introduced and assessed the two individual scholars' theses, we now turn to the three common views: chronological approach, recapitulative approach, and a-temporal approach.¹²⁰ In this section we will deal with the first view. Some scholars' opinions will be introduced and evaluated with special reference to how they see the relationship between the Gog oracle and Revelation.

Chronology, as an approach to the book of Revelation in general and to the passage in view in particular, means that the visions of the book relate consecutive events. In other words, the visions John saw will take place in a chronological order. This then means that the literary sequence of the visions is the order of the events related in the visions. R. H. Charles, for example, is one of the well-known figures who takes such a position.¹²¹ But to hold this view, as Charles himself observes,¹²² will immediately encounter seemingly unsolvable difficulties concerning the logic of the text. (1) From where does Satan gather his alliances to wage war against the saints (20:8-9) when they are all killed by the sword issued from the mouth of Christ and devoured by the birds (19:21)? (2) How is it that there are still "dogs and the sorcerers, and the fornicators ...etc." (22:15) outside the gate of the city, New Jerusalem, when the old and evil world has already passed away (21:1-8)? (3) For whom are the healing leaves prepared (22:2) when all tears, pain, and even death have been removed (21:4)? To solve these logical difficulties, Charles suggests that the present text is disarranged by a very unintelligent disciple of John.¹²³ Accordingly he rearranges the text so to make sense of it. With regard to our present concern, we only need to note that those "Jerusalem texts" (21:9-22:2, 14-15, 17) have been

¹²⁰ Admittedly not all scholars fall into one of these three categories. There are some who think that both principle of chronology and the principle of recapitulation are operated in the book. G. E. Ladd (*Revelation*, 261), for example, maintains that Revelation 12 unmistakably looks back to the birth of Messiah, but such a recapitulative principle does not appear in chapter 20. M. E. Boring (*Revelation*, 194-5), on the other hand, holds that before chapter 19 the visions of the book are arranged in a diachronic manner, but from chapter 19 on, the visions are synchronously related. Yet as to the texts in question here, i.e., Revelation 19:11-21:8, scholars fall into one of these three categories.

¹²¹ *Revelation I*, xxiii. But it must be noted that as a chronology view holder, Charles acknowledges also that part of the texts (e.g., 7:9-17, 10:1-11:13, 12, 14) stand outside of the chronological order of the book.

¹²² *Revelation II*, 146-54.

¹²³ *Revelation I*, xxii.

inserted before 20:4-6 so as to make room on earth "for the kingdom of Christ during the Millennial reign with the glorified martyrs in their heavenly bodies."¹²⁴ As a result, the order of the final events in Charles's rearrangement becomes: the Parousia (19:11-21), the binding of Satan for 1000 years (20:1-3), the coming of new Jerusalem (21:9-22:2, 14-15, 17), the Millennium (20:4-6), the releasing of Satan for war (20:7-10), the final judgment (20:11-15), and the coming of the new Heaven, new Earth and new Jerusalem (21:1-8). On this rearrangement, one at once notices that it creates another problem, namely, that the new Jerusalem descends twice: once before the Millennium and the other at the end of this sequence of final events. To this Charles explains that "the seer does not say what became of the Heavenly Jerusalem [the first one], but its withdrawal from the earth with Christ and the glorified martyrs before Judgment is presupposed, while its return to the new earth in a renewed form is definitely stated in xxi.2."¹²⁵ This explanation, however, is only a conjecture, having no support of any sort from the text. In sum, Charles' theory is untenable because it creates a sort of difficulty that he intended to solve.

As to the use of Gog materials in this passage, Charles, in his commentary on 19:17, says that "our author here borrows his imagery from the slaughter wrought by God in Ezek. xxxix., and yet the final overthrow of Gog and Magog in our author is adjourned to the close of the Millennial reign."¹²⁶ And in his commentary on 20:8, he proposes that John's notion concerning the duplication of the attack on Jerusalem is first of all attested by Ezek 37:21-39:29. "In xxxvii. 21-28 the kingdom with the Messiah, the son of David, is established after the Captivity. Thereupon follows the final attack of the heathen nations upon it in xxxviii-ix."¹²⁷ The first comment Charles made on the use of Gog materials, therefore, indicates that he acknowledges the influence of Ezekiel 38-9 on both Revelation 19:17-8 and 20:7-10. But the

¹²⁴ *Revelation II*, 154. Charles also rearranges (1) 21:1-5 as 21:5a, 4d, 5b, 1-4c, and (2) some other texts in the following order, 21:5c, 6b-8; 22:6-7, 18a, 16, 13, 12, 10; 22:8-9, 20, 21, as the epilogue of the book. But since these two rearrangements do not change the order of the final events, they are not mentioned in the discussion. For a similar treatment on the final three chapters, see Ford, *Revelation*, 38-9, who follows P. Gaechter, "The Original Sequence of Apocalypse 20-22," *Theological Studies* 10 (1949), 485-521.

¹²⁵ *Revelation II*, 186-7. Ford, following Gaechter, holds a similar view in regarding the first and second New Jerusalem as, in turn, the Millennial and Eternal Jerusalem (*Revelation*, 39).

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 188.

second comment, it seems to me, explains nothing. The order of events in Ezekiel 37-9 indeed attests an order in which an eschatological attack follows after a Messianic reign, but there is only one battle, not two. Unless Charles means that the first attack on Jerusalem is the one in 587-6 B.C., his explanation makes no sense. But if this is what he meant, then it contradicts his first comment where he clearly connects 19:17-8 with Ezekiel 38-9. His suggestion, therefore, does not explain how Ezekiel's Gog attack has become two battles in Revelation.

Also taking chronology as a principle to interpret the book, there are, however, some scholars who do not follow Charles's disarrangement theory, but insist that the present order of the texts is the original one. Sharing the same view on the originality of the texts, these scholars are nonetheless of different opinions on Revelation 19:11-20:10. Generally speaking, the opinions are of two kinds, namely, Premillennialism and Postmillennialism.¹²⁸

Premillennialism, in G. E. Ladd's words, "is the doctrine stating that after the Second Coming of Christ, he will reign for a thousand years over the earth before the final consummation of God's redemptive purpose in the new heaven and the new earth of the Age to Come."¹²⁹ To the premillennialists, then, the Millennial reign of Christ (Rev 20:1-6) is to come after his second coming and is earthly, interim, eschatological (i.e., in the future), and of church in nature.¹³⁰ This reading of Revelation 19-20 seems a natural one, especially when one approaches the texts with a principle of chronology in mind. But this approach, as we have noted above, will inevitably encounter many difficulties.¹³¹ Among them, the one directly related to

¹²⁸ Variations are readily found under each of these two categories. But since our aim here is not to examine each and every theory, to treat the issue in this way is enough for our purpose. For subdivisions in these two categories, see J. F. Walvoord, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1966), 282-90.

¹²⁹ "Historic Premillennialism," in *The Meaning of the Millennium: Four Views*. ed. R. G. Clouse (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1977), 17.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 17-40; see the same author's *Revelation*, 252-74. Mounce also takes a premillennial position, but he is a little more moderate than Ladd. "The commentary understands the millennium portrayed as an earthly reign which follows the second coming of Christ," but "a careful reading of the millennial passage (vss. 1-10) will show that it is perhaps limited to the resurrected martyrs alone, and that it contains no specific indication that their reign with Christ takes place on earth or that it necessarily follows the second advent" (*Revelation*, 351).

¹³¹ Besides the problem we are to deal with just now, the difficulties arisen from this thesis include (1) the problem of the constitution of the millennial kingdom of Christ, i.e., a mixing of resurrected saints with the unrepentant sinners in the christocratic kingdom, and (2) the

our concern is the problem of doublet. C. Rowland, for example, explicitly states his bewilderment, "there is some difficulty in knowing why we should have apparent doublets in 19.11ff. and 20.11ff (the judgment of the man on the white horse and the judgment before the great white throne) and 20:1f. and 21:1ff. (the messianic age and the new heaven and earth)."¹³² To this difficulty, he proposes that "this sequence of events is best explained by what John's biblical sources dictated rather than any suggestion that some of the passages may be later insertions."¹³³ The order of events in Ezekiel 37-48, that is, the messianic era (ch. 37) followed by Gog's attack (chs. 38-39) and by the coming of the new Jerusalem (chs. 40-48), is then given as proof.¹³⁴ In a similar fashion, Ladd also resorts to the OT source when he comes to Revelation 20:7-10, the passage concerning the "second" eschatological battle, pointing out that the basic structure of Revelation 20 is inspired by the order of events in Ezekiel 36-48.¹³⁵ But this line of explanation, however, answers only part of the problem. It indeed shows how the order of the final events in Revelation 20-22 corresponds to that of Ezekiel 36-48, but when Revelation 19 is also considered, its weakness is manifested, for it does not explain why we have two eschatological battles here.

Mention must be made here also of Dispensationalism, a variant form of Premillennialism, which, in terms of popularity, receives by far more acceptance than the kind of Premillennialism mentioned above. Like many other premillennialists, the dispensationalists¹³⁶ also read Revelation 19-20 chronologically, proposing that the millennium will be ushered in by the second coming of Christ. But as to the nature of the millennium, they argue that the millennium is not a reign of church, but of God's dealing with the fate of restored Israel in the last days. For them, the millennium is then the fulfillment of God's promises to Israel which he gave to their

effectiveness of Christ's millennial reign, i.e., a large amount of men will rebel against God at the end of the millennium when Satan is to release from the his imprisonment.

¹³² *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982), 417.

¹³³ *Idem.*

¹³⁴ *Idem.* This is given in note 54. Rowland, however, is correct when he says that "the variety which exists in eschatological expectation at this period makes it dangerous to suppose that John was working within a fixed framework of belief."

¹³⁵ *Revelation*, 269; see also Mounce, *Revelation*, 361-62.

¹³⁶ For examples, see Walvoord, *Revelation*, 283-84.

forefathers.¹³⁷ This view, though having a different opinion on the millennium, faces also the problem of doublet. In dealing with this problem, J. R. Walvoord, for example, suggests that while at points Revelation 19:17-19 and 20:7-9 parallel to Ezekiel 38-39, the Gog's attack is not to be identified with the battles revealed in the two Revelation accounts.¹³⁸ "Care must be exercised," says he, "in interpreting passages so similar by following the rule that similarities do not necessarily prove identity."¹³⁹ In other words, by disconnecting the links between the Ezekiel and Revelation passages the problem of doublet has been avoided. Walvoord's treatment on this issue, however, is problematic. Generally speaking, his remark that similarities do not necessarily prove identity surely deserves attention.¹⁴⁰ But as to this particular case, our above analyses on the literary parallelisms between the Old and New Testament passages and the way John dealt with the Gog oracle strongly suggests that the two Revelation passages are to be read with the Gog oracle of Ezekiel. Even if what Walvoord claims is the case, he at least should give some sort of explanation for the phenomenon he observed, i.e., John has employed imageries from a source and used them in the two consecutive Revelation passages, a phenomenon that would naturally lead one to speculate if the author is trying to describe the same event from different angles.

¹³⁷ For details, see H. A. Hoyt, "Dispensational Premillennialism," in *The Meaning of the Millennium*, 63-92; see also 93-114 for the criticisms of G. E. Ladd, L. Boettner and A. A. Hoekema on the problems of this theory, i.e., to read the texts literally and to read dispensational presuppositions into the texts.

¹³⁸ *Revelation*, 279, 303. The reason for Walvoord to make such a suggestion is that the Gog's attack differs from the battles of Revelation in many details. "Many contrasts can be observed between this battle and that of Ezekiel in that Satan is prominent in this whereas he is not mentioned in Ezekiel 38-39. The invasion of Ezekiel comes from the north whereas this invasion comes from all directions. Ezekiel's battle probably occurs previous to the battle of the great day of God Almighty before the millennium, whereas this occurs after the thousand years have been finished" (303). These differences, according to our analyses above, are either invalid in themselves or the result of John's reinterpretation of his source. Walvoord's suggestion here is therefore to be questioned. The arguments of R. Woodrow (*His Truth Is Marching On: Advanced Studies on Prophecy in the Light of History* [Riverside: Palph Woodrow Evangelistic Association, 1977], 32-46) and of H. W. Hoehner ("Evidence from Revelation 20," in eds. D. K. Campbell and J. L. Townsend, *A Case for Premillennialism: A New Consensus* [Chicago: Moody Press, 1992], 235-62) are basically in line with Walvoord's, so they are also to be questioned.

¹³⁹ *Revelation*, 279.

¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately, this rule has not been closely followed by Walvoord and by many other dispensationalists. For many OT passages which are not even alluded to in the millennial passage (Rev 20:1-10) have been read into it by them (see his commentary, 300-02).

Opposite to the Premillennialism is Postmillennialism, which retains lesser reception in scholarly circle.¹⁴¹ The advocates of this theory, like the premillennialists, read Revelation 19-20 also chronologically but with a different interpretation. Revelation 19:11-21, for them, is not about the second coming of Christ but the progress of the Gospel throughout the world. As this process advanced, the world will eventually be Christianized.¹⁴² This christianized world, then, is the millennium which will end at the returning of Christ, an event "followed immediately by the general resurrection, the general judgment, and the introduction of heaven and hell in their fullness."¹⁴³ This understanding of millennium has been criticized as overly optimistic, and it suffered a great deal in the terrible experience of this century.¹⁴⁴ But as to our concern here, this millennialism is problematic in its understanding of the Parousia account (19:11-1-21) and the defeating of Satan passage (20:7-10), especially with their relation to the Gog oracle. D. Chilton, a recent adherent of Postmillennialism, for example, has correctly observed that the imageries John used in both Revelation 19:17-18 and 20:7-8 come from Ezekiel 38-39,¹⁴⁵ but as to how this Gog oracle is being used in the Revelation passage, his understanding is far from recommendable. In particular, his reading the account relating the inviting of the birds to the sacrificial meal (Ezek 39:17-20) as a passage not just of judgment but also of cleansing and redemption is totally incorrect.¹⁴⁶ This passage, as noted earlier, parallels to the two preceding passages (Ezek 39:9-10, 11-16), and together they underline the totality and finality of God's defeating Gog and Magog. Obviously Chilton's reading a note of cleansing and redemption into the text is aimed to support his interpretation of Revelation 19:11-21. For, to him, this passage relates not the second but the first coming of Christ, the event that

¹⁴¹ For examples of adherents of this view, see Walvoord, *Revelation*, 289.

¹⁴² Variation takes place at this point. Some take the christianization spiritually, maintaining that this state of condition is to arrive when the gospel is spread to all parts of the world. Others, however, suggest that the millennium is social and political, and therefore a world governed by Christian values and principles.

¹⁴³ L. Boettner, "Postmillennialism," in *The Meaning of the Millennium*, 117.

¹⁴⁴ For details, see the critics of G. E. Ladd, H. A. Hoyt and A. A. Hoekema in *The Meaning of the Millennium*, 143-52.

¹⁴⁵ *The Days of Vengeance*, 490, 520.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 490-91. Here Chilton is following the view of P. J. Leithart ("Biblical-Theological Paper: Revelation 19:17-18," Westminster Theological Seminary, 1985, p. 11).

inaugurates a new era in which the salvation is still available.¹⁴⁷ It is possible, though not convincing, to interpret Revelation 19:20-21, a passage in which the followers of the two beasts are said to be killed by the sword issued from Christ's mouth, not as a passage of judgment, but as an account of the converting of the nations by the Word, yet to say that the OT background also suggests such a reading is untenable.

As to the use of Gog oracle in Revelation 20:7-10, Chilton maintains that, since this Gog prophecy is already fulfilled in "the Maccabees' defeat of the Syrians in the second century B.C.,"¹⁴⁸ Gog's attack has become a *type* of warfare for John to use in portraying the eschatological battle he sees in the vision.¹⁴⁹ The Gog and Magog attack of Revelation, as a result, is not, as some premillennialists claimed, a prophecy of a future Russian invasion to the land of Israel.¹⁵⁰ In regard to what he aimed to achieve, namely, to argue against a certain kind of Premillennialism, Chilton's thesis is a capable one; but unfortunately, this is not how John understands the Gog oracle. Our earlier analysis already shows that for John, the Gog oracle is to be read with the Christ event. His association of Christ with the Gog prophecy and his inclusion of Satan into the scene clearly indicate how this oracle is understood by him.

Though brief, the above survey of Premillennialism and Postmillennialism is enough for us to see that the reason that we have two sorts of millennialism is that the text contains two eschatological battles, one before and the other after the millennium. Approaching the text with a principle of chronology in mind, one therefore has to make a decision on the "pre or post?" issue. But no matter what side one decides to take, one is inevitably going to encounter the problem of doublet. In one way or the other, then, one of the two battles is to be explained away. The unjustifiable interpretations surveyed above manifest this clearly. As to the relation of the Gog oracle to the two Revelation battles, the scholars of both camps mentioned above equally give acknowledgment to this matter, but as to the implication of this relationship, none of them gives it due consideration. That an oracle has been twice

¹⁴⁷ *The Days of Vengeance*, 481-82.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 520, 523.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 523. It should be noted that Chilton here is following R. Woodrow (*His Truth Is Marching On*, 42).

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 520-23.

used in two consecutive passages which are in turn become the reason for the existence of two millennialisms deserves at least a closer look.

Recapitulation

Chronology, however, is not the one and only approach to Revelation 19-20. For some, recapitulation is the other choice. On the book as a whole, W. Hendriksen, for example, thinks that the book is a composition of seven parallel sections, each of which covers the same period of time, i.e., from the first coming of Christ to his return.¹⁵¹ In this view, then, the book relates, repeatedly or in recapitulatory fashion, the events of the same span of time.¹⁵² In other words, at times the author of the book moves ahead quickly to the end-time, showing his readers a vision of bliss that awaits them, so as to foster hope, yet at other places, goes back to the past, revealing the source of evil to his readers as the reason for their present suffering.¹⁵³ To approach the book in this manner, Revelation 20:1-3, then, refers neither to what will happen after the Parousia (Premillennialism), nor to the christianization of the world which is to occur at some point of church age (Postmillennialism), but to the thing that has already happened at the first coming of Christ. In other words, the readers are brought back to the beginning of the church age when they come to Revelation

¹⁵¹ *More than Conquerors* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982), 16-22. It is necessary to note here that, though covering the same span of time, Hendriksen also acknowledges that these seven parallel sections "are arranged in an ascending, climactic order." His thesis, then, is often known as "progressive parallelism."

¹⁵² The recapitulative character of the book has been, in various ways, argued for in the recent decades. A. Y. Collins (*The Combat Myth*, 32-44), for example, thinks that the motifs of (1) persecution, (2) the punishment of the nations, and (3) the triumph of God, the Lamb, and/or the faithful, regularly reappear in the five sections of the book (6:1-8:5; 8:2-11:19; 12:1-15:4; 15:1-19:10; 19:11-22:5). C. H. Giblin ("Structural and Thematic Correlations in the Theology of Revelation 16-22"), on the other hand, maintains that with a same plot line (i.e., God's enunciation of holy war on behalf of his harassed people), Revelation 4-22 recapitulate in three progressive stages (4:1-8:6; 8:7-15:8; 16:1-22:21). For a brief summary of the history of this particular approach, see B. McGinn, "Revelation," in eds. R. Alter and F. Kermode, *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (Cambridge, M. A: Belknap Press, 1987), 530-32, 537. For a more detailed description of this Tyconian-Augustian tradition in the Western Church from fourth to twelfth century, see A. W. Wainwright, *Mysterious Apocalypse: Interpreting the Book of Revelation* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993), 34-44.

¹⁵³ Mounce, *Revelation*, 45. Concerning the order of final events in Rev 19-20, Mounce's position, however, is not very clear. At one place he says that "this commentary understands the millennium portrayed as an earthly reign which follows the second coming of Christ, although the text itself does not rule out alternate explanations" (351). But in another occasion he indicates that "John taught a literal millennium, but its essential meaning may be realized in something other than a temporal fulfillment" (359).

20.¹⁵⁴ This understanding of Revelation 20 is commonly termed as Amillennialism, a term which unfortunately could easily be, and in fact has been, misunderstood. For this term seems to be suggesting that it teaches a doctrine of "nonmillennium." Amillennialism teaches, however, a millennium which runs from the first to the second coming of Christ. It denies the thinking that the millennium is to come at the end of the history or constitutes only a part (the last part, to be sure) of church age but proposes that the church age is the millennium. "Realized millennialism,"¹⁵⁵ then, would be a more precise terminology for it. For the reason of popularity, however, we will still use Amillennialism in this thesis for such an understanding of Revelation 20.

Concerning the use of the Gog oracle in Revelation 19-20, the case that we have seen in the circles of both Pre- and Postmillennialism, to a large extent, is also true to the circle of Amillennialism. For, just like their contestants, many amillennialists acknowledge, on the one hand, the relationship between the Old and New Testament passages, but on the other hand, give no due consideration to it.¹⁵⁶ Yet this lacking, fortunately, has been partially fulfilled in the recent years.¹⁵⁷ R. F. White, for example, maintains that among many other things, John's twice using of the Gog oracle in Revelation 19-20 argues for the case of recapitulation.¹⁵⁸

If John expected us to interpret the revolts in Revelation 19 and 20 as *different episodes* in history, we would hardly expect him to describe them in language and imagery derived from the *same episode* in Ezekiel's prophecy. On the contrary, John's recapitulated use of Ezekiel 38-39 in both 19:17-21 and 20:7-10 establishes a *prima*

¹⁵⁴ Hendriksen, *More than Conquerors*, 184; Wilcock, *Revelation*, 190-1; A. A. Hoekema, "Amillennialism," in *The Meaning of the Millennium*, 155-87, especially 160; Beale, *Revelation*, 972.

¹⁵⁵ A term proposed by J. E. Adams, *The Time is at Hand* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1970), 7-11.

¹⁵⁶ For examples, see Roloff, *Revelation*, 220, 228; Giblin, *Revelation*, 183, 188. No reference has even been made to the Gog oracle when Hendriksen comes to Revelation 19:17-21 (*More Than Conquerors*, 181-83).

¹⁵⁷ See, for example, Beale, *Revelation*, 976-78; where John's allusions to Ezekiel 38-39 in both Revelation 19 and 20 has been taken as evidence for the theory of recapitulation.

¹⁵⁸ "Reexamining the Evidence for Recapitulation in Rev 20:1-10," *WTJ* 51 (1989), 319-44; see 326-28 especially. The other points that White gives to support the case of recapitulation are the parallelisms of (1) the battle in Revelation 16:14, 19:19, and 20:8; (2) the theme of God's wrath in Revelation 15:1, 16:17-21, and 19:19-21, and (3) the motif of the cosmic destruction in Revelation 6:12-17, 16:17-21, 19:11-21, and 20:9-11 (328-36). Mention must also be made here of M. Wilcock (*Revelation*, 190-91), who in 1975 already noticed the implication of John's double use of the Gog oracle for theory of recapitulation. But probably due to the limitation of space, he did not expound this very much.

facie case for us to understand 20:7-10 as a recapitulation of 19:17-21. If 20:7-10 is indeed a recapitulation of 19:17-21, then 20:7-10 narrates the demise of dragon (Satan) at the second coming, while 19:17-21 narrates the demise of the beast and the false prophet at the second coming. Any other interpretation of how to relate these two judgment scenes, both of which are modelled on Ezekiel 38-39, will have to bear the burden of proof.¹⁵⁹

With a biblico-theological consideration, M. G. Kline argues also that since the Gog oracle is the common source behind the final battle of Revelation 20:7-10 and the Har Magedon crisis of 16:12-16 (and the series of passages that deal with the eschatological battle; 6:12-17, 11:7-13, 16:12-16, 19:11-21), the principle of recapitulation advanced by the amillennialists is warranted.¹⁶⁰

Recognition of the identity of the Har Magedon and Gog-Magog events thus prove to be decisive for the rejection of any view, premillennialist or postmillennialist, that understands the millennium as an age that witnesses the fulfillment (at least in a provisional form) of the OT prophecies of the coming of God's kingdom in external earthly grandeur. The kingdom of glory does not come until final judgment is executed against antichrist/Gog, and therefore not before the end of the millennium. There is no transitional stage in its appearing between the first and second advents of Christ. The glory kingdom comes only as a consummation reality and as such it abides uninterrupted, unchallenged for ever and ever.¹⁶¹

In accordance with the views of these two scholars, our above investigation also argues for the recapitulative approach to this Revelation passage. The case that we have established requires us to read Revelation 19-20 with Ezekiel 38-39, a passage which in itself is cast in a recapitulative fashion (chs. 38 and 39). The way that John handles the Gog oracle, i.e., his association of Christ with and his inclusion of Satan in the final battle, also directs us to such an approach. Though separated by the millennial texts (20:1-6), Revelation 19:17-21 and 20:7-10 are, in John's mind, paired. They are merely the descriptions of the same battle from different perspectives.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ "Reexamining the Evidence for Recapitulation in Rev 20:1-10," 327.

¹⁶⁰ "Har Magedon: The End of the Millennium," *JETS* 39 (1996), 207-22.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 221.

¹⁶² Admittedly, the amillennial approach, like other approaches, is not free of problem. Examples of this include (1) the serial of "καὶ εἶδον" in the passage (19:11, 17, 19; 20:1, 4, 11; 21:1, 2) which seems to be suggesting one should take these vision chronologically, (2) how to explain the purpose clause in 20:3, "so that he (Satan) would deceive the nations no more" (ἵνα μὴ πλανήσῃ ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη), if one maintains that the passage (vv. 1-3) refers to the first coming of Christ, and (3) how to justify the reading of the two "ἔζησαν" (20:4, 5) as spiritual rather than physical resurrection. These questions are indeed important to the understanding of this millennial passage, but for the reason of fairness, I will leave them unanswered here, except for referring the readers

A-Temporal Approach

To introduce the third common approach to Revelation 19-20, nothing could serve better than the words of M. E. Boring, who, after dividing Revelation 19:11-22:5 into seven sub-units, says that

each picture is intended to say something about the character of the End as such, not merely describe one "part" of the final drama. Here is no calendarization of the End, but a tour through an eschatological art gallery in which the theme of God's victory at the end of history is treated in seven different pictures, each complete in itself with its own message and with little concern for chronology."¹⁶³

In this view, the final chapters of Revelation are not something about "the order of the final events." These chapters reveal only one event, that is, the End.¹⁶⁴ In this sense, then, this approach is to be distinguished from the amillennial approach in that, while the Amillennialism is temporal-recapitulative, this approach is thematic-recapitulative. The merit of this hypothesis is that it takes each vision one at a time, thus avoiding in total the difficulties faced by the chronology school. But on the level of practice, to hold this theory is to face the fact that the millennium account (Rev 20:1-10) is constructed with a chronological framework.¹⁶⁵ The explanation giving by W. J. Harrington on this matter is not at all satisfactory: "The difficulty in our passage is due to the fact that the 'thousand years,' though it is a symbol without time value, is linguistically cast in time mode; it invites, indeed demands, chronological phraseology. Hence the phrases: 'until [when] the thousand years were ended' (12 [20?]:3, 5, 7), 'after that' (20:3)."¹⁶⁶

With regard to the relation of Revelation 19-20 to the Gog oracle, what we have observed above on the circles of Pre- and Postmillennialism is also true to this particular school. The relationship between the Old and New testament passages has

to the work of Hoekema ("Amillennialism," in *The Meaning of the Millennium*, 159-72).

¹⁶³ *Revelation* (Louisville: John Knox, 1989), 195. The seven sub-units are, Parousia (19:11-16), last battle (19:17-21), Satan bound (20:1-3), the Millennium (20:4-6), the defeat of Gog and Magog (19:7-10), the last judgment (20:11-15), and the New Jerusalem (21:1-22:5).

¹⁶⁴ For the reading of the entire book in this manner, see E. Schüssler-Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 35-67. For the same author's view on Revelation 20, see her *Priester für Gott*, 295-323.

¹⁶⁵ Note the temporal phrases "until the thousand years were ended" (ἄχρι τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη, 20:3, 5), "and when the thousand years are ended" (Καὶ ὅταν τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη, 20:7), and "after that" (μετὰ ταῦτα, 20:3).

¹⁶⁶ Harrington, *Revelation*, 199.

been noticed by the two scholars, Boring and Harrington, but no attention has been given to how this certain connection has any effect on the approach they proposed to this Revelation passage.¹⁶⁷ Judging the matter from this perspective, their proposal is to be questioned. For, neither the time table that the prophet Ezekiel set in his prophecy, i.e., Gog's attack is to come after a long age of secure preservation (Ezek 38:8, 11, 12, 14), nor the chronological framework that John set in this millennial passage, i.e., Gog and Magog's assault is to come after the millennium in which the saints are to reign with Christ, suggest one should read this Revelation passage in such an a-temporal manner.

Conclusion

In the second part of this chapter, by way of investigating the verbal, thematic, and structural parallels, we have first of all shown that the Gog oracle of the prophet Ezekiel has been alluded to in both Revelation 19:17-21 and 20:7-10. In other words, the two Revelation passages are literarily dependent on the Gog oracle of Ezekiel. This observation, to be sure, is not at all a new one. Yet the methodology we employed has made the case even stronger than what has been established in the past. Our investigation above has also demonstrated that in some details the findings of the past are to be refined.

In addition to the literary dependence, our analysis manifests that the case involves also a hermeneutical dimension. In comparing John's reinterpretation of the Gog oracle with Ezekiel's reinterpretation of the foe-from-the-north tradition, we learn a resemblance between these two interpretative activities. In other words, though John's reinterpretation, i.e., associating Christ and Satan with the prophecy of Ezekiel, gives the tradition a new face, the way he handles his source is actually paralleled to that of Ezekiel. This aspect of relationship between the two passages, as far as I know, has not been noticed in the past and it bears a few implications. First, since the case illustrates how John, a NT writer, perceives an OT prophecy, it then

¹⁶⁷ Boring, *Revelation*, 199, 208-09; Harrington, *Revelation*, 194, 200-01.

serves as a basis for us to compare his perception with that of other NT writers, of other apocalyptic authors and of later rabbis. Second, since the case also illustrates John's following the tradition of OT prophecy,¹⁶⁸ it then serves as an example, demonstrating not only the connection between the Old and New Testament prophecy, but also the state of prophecy of the first century church. The case presents, of course, only a very small piece of evidence, but it surely has a place in the whole picture.¹⁶⁹ Third, in terms of doctrine, this case suggests the way to understand John's Christology. His reinterpretation of the Gog oracle exemplifies the centrality of the Christ event in his understanding of the human history. His association of Christ with the Gog tradition underlines the judgmental role that Christ will bear when he shall come to the world the second time.

As a case which deals with the double use of Ezekiel 38-39 in Revelation 19-20, the analysis given in the third part of this chapter shows the importance of this case to the perennial millennium debate. The OT background of the two Revelation passages encourages the readers to approach the texts with a recapitulation principle. This characteristic of the OT source-text supports the amillennial interpretation. Speaking from the NT perspective, the feature of this NT passage, i.e., doublet, which confused many and which has become the reason for the raising of all sorts of interpretations, is not at all a problem when the NT passage is read with the OT account. Neither is a radical surgery on the text necessary, nor are struggles to explain one of the two battles away required, but a following of the pattern set by the prophet is all that we have to do.

¹⁶⁸ This will also be demonstrated in next case study which concerns the use of Ezekiel 40-48 in Revelation 21:9-27.

¹⁶⁹ For a recent work on this issue, see D. E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983). On John's prophecy in particular, see 275-290; the case in view in this chapter, however, has not been included in Aune's work.

CHAPTER 4

The New City Jerusalem: The Use of Ezekiel 40-48 in Revelation 21:9-27

In chapter 2 of this thesis, we have seen how the author of Revelation used the oracle against the nation of Tyre (Ezek 26-28) as a model to portray the fall of the Great Harlot City Babylon (Rev 18). In this chapter, the attention turns to her counterpart, the Bride City New Jerusalem, whose portrait is given in Revelation 21:9-27. As in the two preceding chapters, we will begin this chapter (part one) with the investigation of Ezekiel 40-48, the OT passage upon which the NT account is dependent. Our major concern there is not only the theme of the text, namely, the new Jerusalem, but also the tradition that constitutes this particular passage. As mentioned several times earlier, this case study of the use of the OT in the NT aims to provide a ground for further comparison when the case of the use of the OT in the NT is also analyzed (part two). We intend to show there that not only did John use Ezekiel's model of the new Jerusalem in his account, but he also followed the prophet's hermeneutic. Following these is the implication of this case study for the understanding of John's account of the New Jerusalem (part three). What will be manifested there, hopefully, is that the New Jerusalem of Revelation stands not for a future physical city, but for a new people of God. The chapter will then be concluded with a summary of what we have learned in this case study.

The city Jerusalem in Ezekiel 40-48

Even a casual reader of Ezekiel 40-48 will immediately notice that the name of the city Jerusalem has not been explicitly spelled out through out these chapters. It is constantly referred to as "הָעִיר" (the city), as if there is no other (40:1; 43:3; 45:6, 7; 48:15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 30, 31, 35). In 40:1 and 43:3, this designation doubtless refers to the old Jerusalem which was ruined at the time when this account was written.¹ "The city" in chapters 45 and 48, however, is a new one, for it is located in a particular piece of land newly re-allotted.² According to Ezekiel 48:1-29 (cf. 45:6 also), this city is situated within the land of Contribution (הַתְּרוּמָה, 48:8; 20) south of the temple as pictured in the map below (measurements are in cubits).³

¹ The reference in 43:3 to the vision of judgment seen earlier (chs. 1-2; 8-10) is intended to remind the readers that the judgment on the old city Jerusalem is completed and the restoration is now on its way. See, William J. Dumbrell, *The Search for Order: Biblical Eschatology in Focus* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 106.

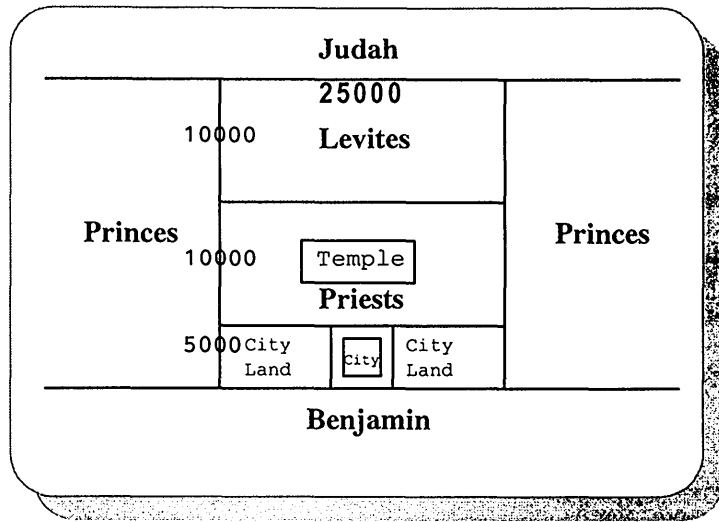
² For a detailed analysis of the theme of the city Jerusalem in the book of Ezekiel, see J. Galambush, *Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel: The City as Yahweh's Wife* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992). In this work, Galambush has shown that the city Jerusalem, in the first half of the book, has been metaphorically portrayed as Yahweh's wife. This practice, then, entitles the prophet to apply many of the "female" imageries to the city (e.g., liaisons with foreign men and uncleanness from menstruation) when her sins are denounced. But this practice, Galambush observes, is not found in the second half of the book. On Ezekiel 40-48, she says,

In the vision of the new temple, feminine verbal imagery, which throughout Ezekiel has meant specifically female infidelity and uncleanness, appears in only a single, retrospective reference to the earlier "whoredom" of the house of Israel (43:7, 9). This suppression of explicitly feminine imagery from the depiction of the new temple, while probably an unconsciously rather than a conscious choice, is consistent with Ezekiel's goal of establishing an inviolably pure realm in which Yahweh can safely dwell. Like the thicker walls and more restrictive laws of the new city, the elimination of the city's female persona serve to protect city and temple against the threat of defilement (3; see also 147-57).

Galambush's observation, i.e., the prophet has changed his practice in the latter part of the book, is certainly correct and surely support our claim here, but the interpretation she gave to this changing is questionable. Whether the prophet's elimination of the city's female persona is aimed to protect city against the threat of defilement or not is the thing that can not be certain, but what we do know, and this will be shown below, is that the city Jerusalem of these chapters has been re-defined. In other words, the changing of practice may have resulted from the prophet's redefinition of the city Jerusalem in this part of the book.

³ Ezekiel 48:1-29 is constructed in three sections: (1) the land for the seven northern tribes (vv. 1-7), (2) the central sacred land (vv. 8-22), and (3) the land for the five southern tribes (vv. 23-29). If this north-south orientation is also implied in the middle section, then the priests land in which the temple is located should be situated at the northernmost part, the area assigned to the Levites

Diagram 1: The land of Contribution



In the prophet's restoration program,⁴ there are three passages concerning the new city Jerusalem. The first is Ezekiel 45:6. In this verse a rectangular area within the province of Contribution is briefly mentioned as נִאֲחֻזֹּת הָעִיר (the property or possession of the city) and said that it is to be set aside for the whole house of Israel. The term נִאֲחֻזֹּת here, in line with its usage in the OT, refers to a piece of land.⁵ So we will render the term נִאֲחֻזֹּת הָעִיר as the "city land" in the following. It needs to be noted here that נִאֲחֻזֹּת appears also in 45:5 and 45:7-8, where it refers to the lands reserved, in turn, for the Levites and the Princes. In the light of this, the city mentioned in 45:6 has been personified, so it is capable of possessing a piece of property.

The brief statement of 45:6 is then expounded in the second city passage, 48:15-19. There the city land, in contrast to the lands of the Priests and Levites which are holy (Ezek 48:9-14), is said to be common (חָל, v. 15). It is designed for the city and for pastureland. The city, with 4500 cubits on each side, stands in the

in the following map (see, M. Greenberg, "The Design and Themes of Ezekiel's Program of Restoration," *Int* 38 [1984], 202). But in considering the centrality of the temple evidenced everywhere in chs. 40-48 (the entire program, for example, starts from the description of the temple), it seems better to place the temple in the center of the sacred land. For this, see also Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 284.

⁴ Whether Ezekiel 40-48 is a program of restoration or not is a debated issue (for details, see S. Tuell, "The Temple vision of Ezekiel 40-48: A Program for Restoration?" *Proceedings of the Eastern Great Lakes Biblical Society* 2 [1982], 96-103). For convenience, we will, in the following, still mention this passage by its most widely known name, the program of restoration.

⁵ H. Wolf, "נִאֲחֻזֹּת" in *TWOT* I, 32-3.

middle of the land and is surrounded by its suburb, which is 250 cubits to each of the four directions (vv. 16-17). The pastureland, on the other hand, embraces the city from both sides, providing food for the workers of the city who come from all the tribes of Israel (vv. 18-19).

The third city passage is found at the end the prophet's program of restoration (48:30-35).⁶ In comparison with the first two city passages, this passage concerns not the city land as a whole, but the city alone. It relates a city whose size is the same as the one described in 48:16, the second city passage. But it differs from that passage in several points. First, instead of following the order of the compass points as given in 48:15-19, that is, north-south-east-west, it changes the order to north-east-south-west, which is the order used in 47:15-20 where the four borders of the whole land are outlined. This changing of order, in Allen's view, is probably intended to portray the city as a microcosm of the land,⁷ in which all tribes of Israel have their own shares. Second, the total length of the city wall is summed up in the third passage, a characteristic not found in the second passage (48:35a). Third, the city of the third passage is said to have 12 gates. These gates are named after the 12 tribes of Israel and situated evenly to the four sides of the city, i.e., three on each side (48:30-34). Fourth, in addition to the naming of the twelve gates, the last city passage also assigns a new⁸ name to the city: Yahweh-is-there (יְהוָה שָׁמָּה, 48:35),

⁶ This passage, in terms of style, is closely linked with the texts before it in two points. First, it relates a city whose geometrical dimensions are the same as the one described in 48:16. Second, it employs a numerical system similar to that of 48:1-7 and of 48:23-29, i.e., to add a "אחד" (one) after each tribe name mentioned. In terms of content, however, the passage seems far from the thoughts of 40:1-48:29, for the focal point of the program of restoration hereto is the temple in which Yahweh dwells, whereas 48:30-35 reveals that it is the new city in which Yahweh will be present (as implied in the new name of the city, Yahweh is there, 48:35). These two features make Zimmerli think that the passage is an appendix written by a later hand who was familiar with the style of the prophet but was overwhelmingly concerned with the old tradition of the city Jerusalem as the place of divine presence, thus leaving the line of former statements (*Ezekiel* 2, 503, 545-6; see also, Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 277-8). Zimmerli's suggestion is inviting, for it gives a sound explanation to the discrepancy between this passage and the texts before it. But such an explanation is needed only when the city (or the geography of the program) is to be understood at face value, i. e., a complex of buildings surrounded by city walls. Later, I will pose a thesis, reading the city not as a built construction but as the people of Israel. Besides, the concern of this thesis is the viewpoint of the author of Revelation. In the following, we will therefore assume that Ezek 48:30-35 was taken as an integral part of the whole program by John, and seek what it would mean to him.

⁷ *Ezekiel 20-48*, 284.

⁸ Note the מֵעַתָּה (from now on) of 48:35.

which is probably a wordplay on the old name, יְרוּשָׁלַם.⁹

Several things can be summarized from the above analysis. First, the city has been personified in 45:6, so it can, as the other three groups of the people (i.e., the Priests, Levites and Princes; 45:1-8), possess a piece of land. Second, the theme that the city land is reserved *for the whole house of Israel* is a motif appearing in all three passages. It takes up its basic theme in 45:6 (לְכָל-בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל), emerges again in 48:19, where the population of the city is said to come from all tribes of Israel, and finally reappears in 48:30-35 where the twelve tribes are all named. Totality, accordingly, is the point assumed behind the theme of the new city.¹⁰ Third, the city land is situated within the land of Contribution, which is the thirteenth strip of land intentionally set apart from the whole land to accommodate not only the city land but also the lands for the Priest, Levites, and Princes (45:1-8; 48:8-22). So, the purpose of setting apart a territory for the city is to reserve a place for the whole house of Israel in the land of Contribution.

But what does this mean? Is it not the case that every tribe of Israel had already been given a strip of land as its own holding (48:1-7, 23-29)? Why then preserve a place for the whole house of Israel in the land of Contribution? To answer these questions, we need first to answer two even more fundamental questions: Why set apart the land of Contribution from the whole land and what does the geographical planning of this particular piece of land mean (48:8-22)? The first question is easy to answer, because the land set apart is named תְּרוּמָה (48:8), a liturgical term usually refereed to various offerings;¹¹ so the land of Contribution is designated to be a token to signify that the whole land belongs to Yahweh.¹²

The second question, however, is a more difficult one, because it involves one of the key issues faced by all interpreters of this restoration account. That is, should we take the division of the restoration land (47:13-48:29) as something to be literally carried out in the future, or should we take it as the ways the prophet used to express

⁹ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 285.

¹⁰ The individualism deduced from the naming of a gate after a particular tribe, as suggested by L. E. Cooper (*Ezekiel*, 425), is therefore to be rejected. For the point there is to name the *twelve* gates after the *twelve* tribes.

¹¹ For the use of this term in the OT, see A. Bowling, "תרומה," in *TWOT* 2, 837-9.

¹² Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 281, 286.

his ideals? "Practicality or Idealism," therefore, is the issue.¹³ On this question, many scholars of the field¹⁴ agree that idealism is the main characteristic of this passage, which is proved itself at least in the following two points. First, the detailed descriptions of the borders of the restoration land indeed suggests that the future theocratic kingdom will be located in a specific vicinity (47:13-20), but the prophet's plan, with many marked differences from the actual circumstances of territorial possessions during the monarchical period, is in fact a model taken from a pre-monarchical scheme (Num 34:1-12) which was seen by the prophet as an ideal pattern (47:14).¹⁵ Second, the order of the allotments to the tribes is purely an ideal (48:1-7, 23-29). No circumstance in the history of Israel is found in conformity with such order of allotments, nor was any attempt made to realize such design in the succeeding history of Israel (e.g., Ezra and Nehemiah).¹⁶

To this question, M. Greenberg, on the other hand, suggests that the issue is not necessary to be an "either ... or" one but could be a "both ... and" one.¹⁷ He argues that the idealism is indeed manifested in arraying the tribes in strips across the land which is "so different from the historical tribal division recorded in the book of Joshua, and so apparently heedless of the terrain of Palestine,"¹⁸ but the element of practicality has not consequently been squeezed out. For to divide the land *horizontally* is the only way to give every single tribe a strip of land which consists, from west to east, of a bit of the coastal plain, a bit of the highlands and a bit of the Jordan valley.¹⁹

¹³ "Practicality or Idealism?" is also an issue involved in the interpretation of Ezekiel 40:5-42:20. For the blueprint of the new temple there is described in finest details which creates an impression that the plan is intended to be actually carried out, but the plan at the same time does not reveal the vertical dimension of the temple, thus making it impossible a plan to follow.

¹⁴ For example, J. D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), 116; G. A. Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 524.

¹⁵ For details, see, Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 528, 531-2; note also the words of Levenson (*Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48*, 116; "In defining the eastern border of the theocracy as the Jordan, the restoration vision seeks to bring history into line with theology, to eliminate the factor of randomness and human free-will in order to depict a *perfect providence*" (Italic mine).

¹⁶ Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48*, 116.

¹⁷ "Idealism and Practicality in Numbers 35:4-5 and Ezekiel 48," *JAOS* 88 (1968), 59-66. It needs to be noted here that the Ezekielian texts Greenberg dealt with (i.e., 48:1-7, 23-29) cover only a part of the texts we are concerned with here. But the point he argued has a direct relevance to the issue in question.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁹ This piece of geographical information is based on the description of the land of Palestine given

The goal of Greenberg is to question the notion that the prophet's program is wholly unrealistic,²⁰ and to this end, the point he makes is sufficient to sustain his case. He has shown that the program, at least in one point, is not unrealistic. But as to our concern here, it is necessary to note that the point he makes is not strong enough to withstand further scrutiny. First, the plan is not as practical as it seems. Each tribe has indeed been allotted a piece of land which includes the same sort of terrains, but since neither the eastern border nor the western border of the land (i.e., the Jordan river and the coast line) are in a straight line, each tribe has not been given the same amount of land. Second, since no piece of land, be it a bit of coastal plain, a bit of highlands or a bit of Jordan valley, has the same quality as the others, the horizontal way of dividing the land is not a fair plan. In terms of the kinds of land to be allotted to the tribes, the prophet's plan, as suggested by Greenberg, is practical. But as far as quantity and quality are concerned, it is not a practical one. The allotment of the lands to the tribes is in fact designed without considering some of the elements which are crucial for a plan to be realized. Demography, or the populations of the tribes, for example, is not considered. Furthermore, historical reality, that is, some tribes being scattered without trace, is also ignored in the program. Idealism, therefore, is the dominant principle that governs the prophet's program. In other words, though based, in a sense, on the real circumstance of the land, the geography of the prophet's program is basically the means the prophet used to express his ideal kingdom. On this, K. R. Stevenson has aptly written:

Scholars have long recognized that access to space is a central concern of Ezekiel 40-48, and have discussed areas, boundaries, and access. However, to my knowledge, no one has used the language of human geography to show that the fundamental intention of these chapters is to create a new human geography by changing access to space. Human geography shows that every society is organized in space. Changing the spatial organization of the society changes the society. Ezekiel 40-48 is a vision of a new society organized according to a new set of spatial rules. It is a temple society with controlled access to sacred space, based on a spatial theology of holiness. The perspectives and vocabulary of human geography clarifies aspects of the text which scholars have found problematic, and allows us to see the rhetorical point of the vision. This Rhetor wants nothing less than to create a transformed world.²¹

by the 10th century Palestinian Arab geographer Al Mukaddasi, in whose writing the land was consisted of the three sorts of terrains running vertically from west to east. For bibliographical reference, see *ibid.*, 65, note 25.

²⁰ The viewpoint being argued against is that of Julius Beyer; see *ibid.*, 63-4.

²¹ *The Vision of Transformation: The Territorial Rhetoric of Ezekiel 40-48* (Atlanta: Scholars Press,

If this is the case, what then is the meaning of the geographic plan of the Contribution land (48:8-22)? This question would be much easier to answer had this strip of land consisted of only three portions assigned for the Priests, Levites, and Princes. For if that were the case, the designation is logical and practical: just as the tribes are to have their own land to live in, so too are the other three groups of people. But the plan is not so for, it includes the city land, in which the city is the focal point. The question thereby becomes: Why keep the city in the program of restoration? Before proposing my thesis, some scholars' views on this issue will first be examined.

Based on the identification of the city of Ezekiel 48 as Jerusalem, W. Zimmerli maintains that, though almost totally without mention in chapters 40-47, the city Jerusalem just cannot be passed over when the whole land is in view. But since Jerusalem is a city laden with traditions, it cannot be located in any one of the tribal portions.²² "In a kind of embarrassed solution,"²³ the city, which is profane in nature, is situated in the Contribution land designed to be holy. This tension is also seen in 48:35, to which verse Zimmerli comments: "The last sentence of the book of Ezekiel shows how the old tradition of the city of God has forcefully obtained justice for itself against the priestly reform project, which, through the separation of city and temple, has robbed the city of much of its dignity."²⁴

In asserting that the prophet's program seeks to return the clock back to the time of conquest, J. D. Levenson admits that the singling-out of Jerusalem indeed creates some sort of tension. As to this difficulty, he explains that Jerusalem "had become too central to the faith of Israel to be seen as a fall from grace, however bad the city's former occupants. In short, the nostalgia of Ezek. 40-48 is not so thorough-going as to consider invalid all divine promises given after the conquest."²⁵

1996), xviii; see also 13, 151-2.

²² *Ezekiel* 2, 538.

²³ Zimmerli, "Plans for Rebuilding after the Catastrophe of 587," in *I am Yahweh* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1982), 128.

²⁴ *Ezekiel* 2, 547.

²⁵ *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48*, 122.

To the same question, L. C. Allen writes, "The inclusion of the city and of crown land in the reservation is a reflex of older traditions: king, capital and temple had been interconnected for centuries. Although these bonds are noticeably loosened---palace and temple no longer adjoin (43:7-8) and the city is kept at a respectful distance from the temple---the influence of their unity is not allowed to fade into oblivion."²⁶ In so doing, Allen suggests, the positive aspects of the Zion tradition, such as, sharing the aura of divine presence (Ps 46:6 [5]) and symbolizing the oneness of God with his people (Ps 48:13-15 [12-14]), is resumed.²⁷

Common to the above three theses are their struggles to give a proper explanation to the issue under consideration, which, it seems, is due to their identification of the new city with the old one. But is this identification justifiable? Is the new city being treated fairly in its own context? In the view of the three scholars, the Zion/Jerusalem tradition seems to have some kind of spell upon the prophet, making him unable to line up his thoughts. Now the Zion tradition is indeed, among many other traditions, an eminent one, but that tradition is built upon the presupposition that the temple, in which Yahweh dwells, is in the city, a presupposition that makes all sorts of implications possible, i.e., security, fertility, oneness with God, being blessed, etc. Yet in the prophet's program, the temple has been deliberately set apart from the city (43:6-9; 45:1-8; 48:8-22), so the city of the new age is a city without a temple. The symbolisms and implications of the old city are, accordingly, subject to re-definition.²⁸ In the following, a thesis will be proposed which is based on what the texts explicitly say and on the assertion established earlier that idealism is the key to understand the meaning of the prophet's program.

²⁶ *Ezekiel 20-48*, 283; see also 286 where he says, "in an echo of the positive traditions that bound temple, palace and city together in holy concord, the city's territory and the crown estates still lie in a demarcated cluster, within the strip of land reserved for Yahweh."

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 286.

²⁸ Levenson, however, has successfully shown that in the prophet's program, the role of human kingship has been re-defined (*Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48*, 55-101). The roles and the identifications of the Priests and Levites have in fact also been re-defined in the prophet's program for the purpose of fixing the past evil (Ezek 44:6-16, 48:11). It should not be a surprise, therefore, to see the same thing happened to the city. The observation of Galambush, mentioned earlier, that the metaphor of the old city Jerusalem as Yahweh's unfaithful wife (Ezek 16 and 23) vanishes in toto in chapters 40-48 also supports our point here. For a similar observation on the transformation of the city Jerusalem in Ezekiel's restoration oracles (Ezek 33-48), see also M. S. Odell, "The City of Hamonah in Ezekiel 39:11-16: The Tumultuous City of Jerusalem," *CBQ* 56 (1994), 479-89.

To start with, we need to step back a little bit, enlarging our vision so to see not only the city but also the whole strip of Contribution (48:8-22).²⁹ This thirteenth strip, as already noted, is composed of four portions which are reserved for the Priests, Levites, Princes, and the city. Now, since the personification of the city has made it an entity capable of possessing a piece of land and since the dwellers of the city are said to come from all tribes of Israel, it is reasonable to say, first of all, that the purpose of assigning a particular area as city land is to reserve a place for the 12 tribes within the thirteenth strip. If this is so, the intention of the graphical planning of this strip of land then is to include the four major groups of people, of whom the theocratic kingdom is composed.³⁰ The plan, accordingly, concerns less the practical aspects (e.g., where to place the crown estate),³¹ and more the principles of the theocratic kingdom which are reflected in its geographical design. As shown in the map drawn earlier, the Zadokite priests, who were granted the privilege of entering and serving in the sanctuary (44:15-16; 48:11), occupy the central area. This planning, of course, reflects the theocentric nature of the program. This central rectangle, the most holy area (48:12), is adjoined, vertically, by the portion reserved for the Levites, who were obliged to carry out some menial temple duties (44:10), and by the province kept for the common people of Israel. The Levites' portion is said, accordingly, to be holy, and the people's profane.³² The superiority of the Levites over the people, with respect to the roles they played in the sanctuary, is reflected not only in the classification of the land, but also in the amount of the land assigned to them. For the Levites are allotted an area twice the size of the people's. As to the Princes' share, it is designed to be located at either side of the central square

²⁹ The text in view also begins with the description of the Contribution land as a whole (48:8), which is followed by the narrations of the lands for the Priests (48:9-12), the Levites (48:13-14), the city (48:15-20), and the Princes (48:21-22). My analysis of this passage below will follow this sequence for two reasons. First, the sequence in itself is a logical one. Second, the sequence, to a large extent, also signifies the theocentric nature of the program.

³⁰ The aliens as a group of people is also mentioned in the program, and of course one of the components of the kingdom. But such privilege is enjoyed only when they affiliate themselves with one of the tribes (47:22-23). Theoretically, they are also present in the strip of Contribution with the people of Israel.

³¹ Such concern, however, is not totally excluded.

³² The central square area therefore is composed of three classes of land, i.e., the most holy one, the holy one and the profane one. This classification is based on the roles of the occupants played in the sanctuary.

area (48:21-22). This designation is very interesting. On the one hand, it spreads the crown estates out to the sides, thus emphasizing again the theocentric feature of the program. But, in doing so, it also stresses the eminent status of the kings in the nation. For the central square area, in which the other three groups of people dwell, is enclosed by the crown estates on both sides.³³

If understood in this way, the city of the new age is no longer a religious center. It contains no temple. All those theological implications pertinent to the old city, such as the security and inviolability which prevailed before the Exile, are inapplicable to the new city. Nor is the new city a political center. It does not belong to the Princes. The national pride and ambition attached to the old city are not the characteristics of the new one.³⁴ The city of this plan represents only the people of Israel. It is constituted by the 12 tribes of Israel, whose names are on the gates of the new city (48:30-34), and whose relationship with Yahweh, her covenant Lord, is underlined in the new name of the city, "Yahweh-is-there" (48:35).³⁵

This understanding of the city of the prophet, however, is not at all a new one. In dealing with the issue concerning the number of the righteous men in the world to come, the Tractate Sanhedrin 97b reads,

Said Abayye, "There are in the world never fewer than thirty-six righteous men, who look upon the face of the Presence of God every day, for it is said, 'Happy are those who wait for him' (Is. 30:18), and the numerical value of the letters in the word 'for him' [לְהוֹמֵי] is thirty-six."

Is this so? And did not Raba say, "The row of the righteous before the Holy One, blessed be he, is made up of eighteen thousand, as it is said, 'There shall be eighteen thousand round about' (Ez. 48:35)"?

There is no contradiction between the two views. The former number refers to those many who see him through a bright mirror, the latter number refers to those many who see him only through a dirty mirror.³⁶

³³ It must be noted here that in Ezekiel the kingship is a-political. On this, see Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48* (75-101). Note his words, "Once human kingship ceased to be a political office, once the *melek* became a *nasi* (David is once again *nagid*, Is. 55:4!), once Judah lost its hegemony over the other tribes, then all Israel could justly lay claim to the promises to David" (99).

³⁴ One of the major characteristics of the program, the undoing of past evil, is here, though subtly, manifested. See Hals, *Ezekiel*, 344.

³⁵ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 285.

³⁶ *The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation. XXIII.C: The Tractate Sanhedrin, Chapters 9-11*. Trans. J. Neusner (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), 133. See also the Tractate Sukkah 45b where the text is slightly rearranged.

In this Tractate, then, we learn a tradition which reads the city of Ezekiel 48 not as a physical city but as a people of the coming age. For, implied in Raba's citation of Ezekiel 48:35, where the number, i.e., eighteen thousand, is in fact the number of the perimeter of the city, is his reading the city as a community. This way of understanding Ezekiel's city is not necessarily John's, but it certainly offers an example in which we learn how this Ezekielian city was understood by the Jews of John's days.³⁷

The use of Numbers 2-3 in Ezekiel 48:30-35

The above analysis has shown the possibility of reading the city of the prophet not as a religious and political centre of old time, but as the people of Israel. But where does the model of the city come from (48:30-34)?

On this question, Zimmerli,³⁸ following A. Parrot,³⁹ suggests that the city of the prophet parallels to Babylonian ziggurat, E-temen-anki (i.e., the house of the foundation-stone of heaven and earth), for both complexes have twelve gates. But this parallel is not without flaws. First, the Babylonian ziggurat is a sort of temple complex, while the new city of Ezekiel is not. If that Babylonian model is to be followed, the best place to reflect its feature, that is, the twelve gates, would be the temple portrayed in 40-42. But, obviously this is not the case. Second, whereas the gates of Ezekiel's city are symmetrically arranged, the twelve gates of the Babylonian model are not so: there are three in both the north and the west, two in the east, and four in the south. The Babylonian model, accordingly, provides only an architectural background to those days. It should not be seen as the prototype of the Ezekielian city.⁴⁰

³⁷ According to I. Epstein (*The Babylonian Talmud: Seder Nezikin, Sanhedrin I* [London: Soncino, 1935], xi), this work was compiled no later than the end of the second century A. D. For a same view, see also J. Neusner, *The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation. XXIIIa: The Tractate Sanhedrin, Chapters 1-3* (Chico, Scholars Press, 1984), 29. For the following of this tradition in the circle of Jewish community of this century, see M. Eisemann, *Yechezkel: The Book of Ezekiel - A New Translation with a Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic, and Rabbinic Sources* (N.Y.: Mesorah Publications, 1977), 758-59.

³⁸ *Ezekiel 2*, 546.

³⁹ *Babylon and the Old Testament*, trans. B. E. Hooke (London: SCM Press, 1958), 45.

⁴⁰ One of the other possible candidates is the pre-exilic Jerusalem. In Jer. 37:13 and 2 Kgs 14:13, two of its gates are mentioned as the Ephraim gate and the Benjamin gate. This candidate, however, has been convincingly denounced by Zimmerli for the reason that the namings are based

The battle-camp of Numbers 2-3, however, bears a resemblance to the city of the prophet. But before taking up a detailed comparison, it seems helpful to transfer the descriptions of the city and of the battle-camp into pictures. In both of the following diagrams, the letters L, R, B, and Z in turn stand for Leah, Rachel, Zilpah, and Bilhah, the four wives of Jacob. The names made bold denote the sons of the two full wives, and the names in normal type are the sons of the two handmaids.

Diagram 2: The city of Ezekiel 48

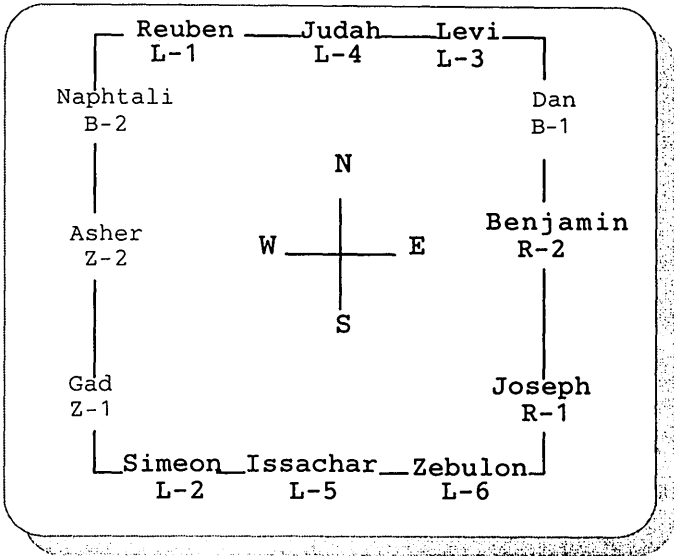
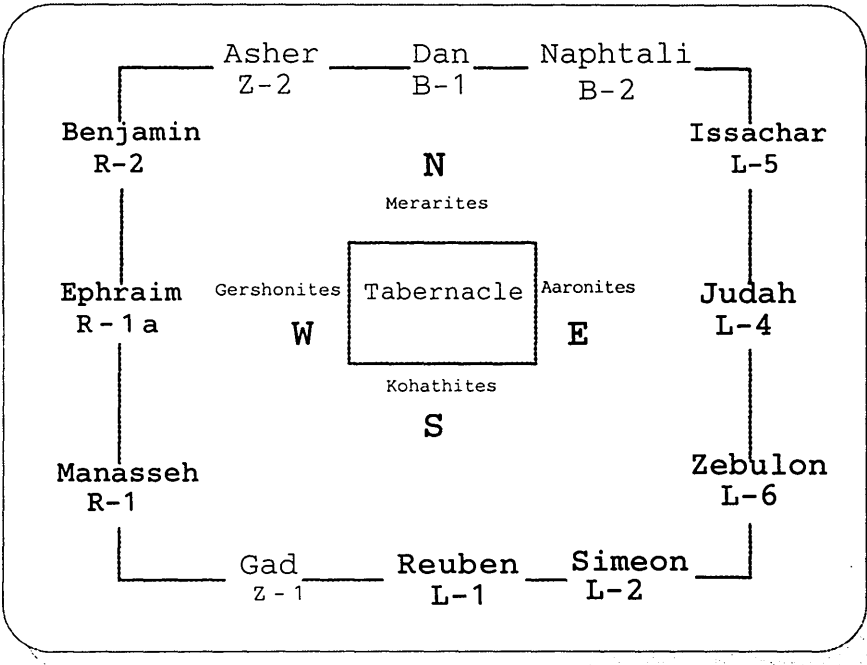


Diagram 3: The battle-camp model of Numbers 2-3



purely on geographical location. In other words, the gates were so named because they face the

Two things emerge from the comparison of the two models. First, the tribal lists of these two models are different. In the battle-camp, Levi has been distinguished from the twelve so as to minister at the tabernacle. As a result, the tribe of Joseph has been divided into Manasseh and Ephraim, who are the two sons of Joseph, so as to keep the number at 12. This pattern has been followed in the allotment of the land (48:1-29) for a similar reason. That is, the Levites there have also been distinguished from the twelve and assigned a piece of land within the scope of the Contribution land because they have been given some liturgical, though menial, responsibilities. But this pattern has not been employed in the model of the city, for here the concern is not for liturgy but for the people of Israel. The two sons of Joseph, accordingly, emerge under their father's name so as to make room for Levi.

The second thing which surfaces from the comparison of these two models is that although the tribes in both models are similarly arranged in a square shape, they are classified in different groups and placed in different positions. This difference calls for a closer examination.

To begin with, we will focus our attention on the battle-camp model. This model is composed of four groups of tribes: one Leah group to the east, one Rachel group to the west, one handmaid group to the north, and one "mixed" group to the south, which is made up of the two sons of Leah and a son of Zilpah. The logic behind this "mixing" is probably that Gad is the first-born of Zilpah and that his mother is the handmaid of Leah. This "mixed" group, as a result, is also a Leah group. The genealogy, hence, is the principle operated both in the classification of the twelve tribes into four groups and in the "mixing" of Gad with Leah's two sons. This principle can also be discerned in the way the texts describe how each individual group is composed. The fixed formula in Numbers 2 runs as follows: on the east (or the west, etc.) are the tribe of X, ... next to it are ... Y ... and Z. This formula suggests that the group is led by the tribe mentioned first who stands in the center and is flanked by the other two tribes.⁴¹ Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, and Dan,

regions of Ephraim and of Benjamin. See his *Ezekiel* 2, 546.

⁴¹ T. R. Ashley, *The Book of Numbers* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 74. It needs to be noted here that some have lined up the triads not in Y-X-Z (or Z-X-Y) but in X-Y-Z fashion. In other words, the leaders of the groups are not in the center but are placed to the sides. But since the participle of the phrase "יְהוֹדְנִים עִלָּיו" (those to camp next to him [the leader], Num 2:5, 12, 27) is

accordingly, stand out as the leaders of the four triads. Now, Judah, Reuben and Dan are the eldest ones in their own parties,⁴² but how about Ephraim? Is he not the younger son of Rachel? Why put him before his elder brother Manasseh? The answer to this question is probably that this reversal has been made in the recognition of an old tradition in which Jacob has deliberately placed the younger one over the elder (Gen 48:17-20). As a result, the principle of genealogy, though modified, is still at work here.

As far as the status of the four sides is concerned, the east obviously is the prime orientation in this model. It is the first direction to be addressed (Num 2:3), the orientation to which the door of the tabernacle is opened,⁴³ and the side that the Aaronites, the most honored clan, is placed (Num 3:5-9). The hypothesis established so far seems sound, but how about Reuben and Simeon? Are they not the two eldest sons of Leah, the first wife of Jacob? Why place them not to the east but instead to the south, the second direction being addressed? The reason⁴⁴ for this is probably that they, according to Jacob's last words (Gen 49:3-27; vv. 3-7 in particular), had been deprived of the first-born status because of their evil deeds (Gen 34:1-31; 35:22).⁴⁵ They are therefore demoted to the south, giving the prime status to the

always in plural, Ashley's suggestion that the leaders are in the centre and are flanked by the other two tribes is the one to follow.

⁴² For the order of birth, see Gen 29-30.

⁴³ Ashley, *The Book of Numbers*, 71.

⁴⁴ R. K. Harrison maintains that the reason to place Judah over Reuben is because Judah's group is the one that has the largest number of warriors. To place his triad to the east, the first side to march when the camp moves, thereby, will create the most significant military effect. This line of reasoning, however, is not as logical as it seems. For the second largest group is not the Reuben group but the Dan triad. The order, if Harrison is correct, should be, Judah-Dan-Reuben-Ephraim, but this is not the order in Numbers 2. It will be shown in the following that the order is in fact built upon the principle of genealogy. His thesis, accordingly, is to be questioned (see his commentary, *Numbers* [Chicago: Moody Press, 1990], 55-6). On the same issue, M. Noth writes, "In P this preference is perhaps not so much based on the fact that the Davidic dynasty, which had also been rulers of Jerusalem, had been Judaic, but rather on the fact that after 721 BC the state of Judah had alone been left as a comparatively independent political power in the territory of old Israel and that therefore the tribe of Judah, as the most important element in the state of Judah, seemed called to represent the totality of Israel and also, after the disaster of 587 BC, remained substantially the bearer of the traditions that were handed down." (*Numbers*, trans. J. D. Martin [London: SCM Press, 1968], 24). Noth's suggestion, however, is based on the view that P was completed in Exile, a viewpoint not of the author of the book of Revelation. His thesis thereby will not be considered as a possible explanation.

⁴⁵ To be sure, Levi, together with his brother Simeon, is also censured in Jacob's last words. But the status of this tribe has been elevated in many other Pentateuchal texts (e.g., Num 3:12f; 8:14-18:16:9f). The reason for this election, however, is not given. See N. M. Sarna, *Genesis*

group led by Judah. In the light of this, the genealogy, again the one that concerns tradition, is still the guideline in operation. In fact, the guideline is in effect throughout the second chapter of the book of Numbers. For after the two Leah triads, the Rachel group to the west and the concubine group to the north are introduced according to their genealogical significance (Num 2:18-31).

Having seen how the battle-camp is constructed, we now turn our eyes to the model of the city. The first thing which comes to our attention is that although the twelve tribes have also been divided into the same number of groups, none of the groups is composed of the same tribes as the ones in the battle-camp. This difference seems, at first glance, puzzling. But a closer examination will show that genealogy is still the main concern of the later model. Now let us start with the two Leah triads. Compared to the former model, the inclusion of Levi, first of all, has made the number of Leah's sons up to six, a perfect number for two triads, so there is no need to "mix." But why group Reuben, Judah and Levi in one triad and the other three in the other? Would not it have been more logical, as in the case of battle-camp, to arrange the three older brothers in the first group and the three younger ones in the second? In response to this question, Zimmerli proposes that the reason to group Reuben, Judah and Levi in one triad is due to their genealogical significance, which is reflected in the closeness of their lands to the temple (Ezek 48:1-7, 23-29).⁴⁶ Allen, on the other hand, maintains that the classification of the six Leah tribes in such a fashion is probably in order to remain consistent with the geographical placing of the six tribes.⁴⁷ For the lands of the northern triad and of the southern triad are located, respectively, north and south of the temple (Ezek 48: 1-7, 23-29). These two explanations, though originating from different angles, are complementary to each other and show the effect of the principle of genealogy on this particular matter. The inclusion of Levi, secondly, results in the merging of Manasseh and Ephraim under

(Philadelphia: JPS, 1989), 332-5. For the declination of Reuben and Simeon, see P. J. Budd, *Numbers* (Waco: Word Books, 1984), 24-5.

⁴⁶ *Ezekiel* 2, 546. For a treatment on the principle operated in the allotment of the lands to the tribes (Ezek 48:1-7, 23-29), see Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48*, 116-8.

⁴⁷ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 284. This conformity, however, is impossible to keep in the other two triads who are located in the east and west.

their father Joseph, which in turn reduces the number of Rachel tribes to two and creates the necessity of mixing. But here, Dan, instead of Gad, is included. The logic behind this is still the principle of genealogy, for the group to be mixed in this case is not of Leah but of Rachel. Dan, the first-born of Bilhah who is the servant girl of Rachel, therefore, steps in.⁴⁸ As a result, Gad, Asher and Naphtali, the other three sons of the concubines, are left for the last triad.

As to the status of the four directions, the model of the city presents a picture different from that of the battle-camp. North, in this model, seems to be the most esteemed direction. It is the first orientation mentioned (48:30-1), and the side that comes closest to the temple. It is therefore reserved for the three most significant tribes of Leah. In accordance with the axis of Ezekiel 48:1-29, that is, along the line from north to south, the model of the city honors also the south, giving it to the other three sons of Leah. Having settled the two Leah groups to the north and the south, the model gives the east, the direction toward which the temple faced, to the Rachel triad, leaving the west to the triad of the concubines. In assigning the groups to the sides, accordingly, the model in view also follows the principle of genealogy.⁴⁹

To sum up, the above examination shows that although at points the two models are different, they are constructed out of the same genealogical principle. This principle is in operation both when the tribes are to be classified into triads and when an order is to be made for the classified triads. In a word, the city model of Ezekiel 48:30-34 bears resemblance to the battle-camp of Numbers 2, where the outer structure of the camp is laid out. But how do we deal with the inner circle of

⁴⁸ The other possible reason for this "elevation" of Dan over Gad and Asher, the sons of Leah's maid Zilpah, is that the prophet here intends to follow a tradition recorded in Genesis 49 where Dan, among the four sons of the handmaidens, is the first one mentioned (vv. 16-21). But even if that is the case, genealogy is still the factor for such an arrangement. For Dan, according to Genesis 30:5-14, is the eldest among the four sons of the concubines.

⁴⁹ It needs to state here that the city model also differs in one other detail from the battle-camp model. In Numbers 2, the order of the four directions is given as east-south-west-north, which is also the order of the genealogical significance of the four triads. The city model, on the other hand, places the four points of the compass in the order north-south-east-west, which is different from the order of genealogical significance, that is, north-east-south-west. This difference, however, poses no difficulties. For the battle-camp model, though in a square shape, is designed with a view of marching troops (i.e., a lineal concept), while the city model is constructed without such consideration. The literary order, in the case of the city, hence, does not necessarily correspond to the genealogical order.

the battle-camp portrayed in Numbers 3, the one "missing" in the city model? Does this "missing" material suggest that prophet just arbitrarily grabs the things he wants, leaving aside whatever is unnecessary to his program?

To answer this question, a comparison of the design of the Contribution land (48:8-22) with the structure of the battle-camp is called for. Diagram 3 pictured above shows that the battle-camp is constructed on three levels. The first is the tabernacle, at the center of the camp. This focal point is in turn surrounded by the second and third layers, the clergymen and the laymen. Among the clergymen, the Aaronites are given a superior status over the three Levitical clans (Num 3:5-9). This structuring, thereby, signifies that the camp is a priestly theocracy. In comparison with the model of the camp, the central square of the Contribution land presents a similar picture, for it is also constructed on three levels. The centre rectangular area, in which the restored temple stands, the counterpart of the tabernacle, is reserved for the priests, the equivalent of the Aaronites. The central area is then surrounded by the lands of the Levites and of the city, the symbol of the people. This arrangement, in terms of cartography, seems to give the same status to the Levites and the people, but our analysis above has already shown that the plan is not so designed. The Levites possess a piece of land bigger in quantity and higher in ranking than that of the people. The prophet's plan, as a result, is also a priestly theocracy. His plan and the battle-camp share the same ideology. The inner circle of the camp has not been left out by the prophet. It has been purely re-designed. All the ingredients of the battle-camp model reappear in the later design. One thing, however, is new, the crown estate. Obviously this addition is made in the consideration of the development of history, for the institution of dynasty did not exist in the days when the model of battle-camp was revealed.

In sum, the prophet's plan for the future restored nation is not the product purely of an imaginative mind, but a model reconstructed on an old tradition. It follows the principle of genealogy operated in that old tradition. It re-shapes, to some extent, the countenance of the old pattern but shares the same ideology with the tradition it depends on. It is not a plan conceived by a prophet in exile, overwhelmed by his nostalgia and thus rejecting all things new, but a plan rationalized with history

in mind. Its analogy to the battle camp suggests, in turn, the reading of the city as a symbol for the new people of God, for the city of the prophet matches, exactly, the twelve tribes of Israel in the model of battle-camp.

Having seen the analogy between the battle-camp of Numbers and the geographical plan of the prophet, what remains to be answered in this part of the chapter is, How do we know that the author of Revelation reads Ezekiel 48:30-35 with Numbers 2-3. On this issue, what we have said in the preceding two chapters about the characteristics of John, namely, his over-all familiarity with the OT and his ability to integrate different OT texts which concern the same theme into his writing, is also true to this case. In addition to this, what we have shown in the former two chapters, i.e., in some instances John read Ezekiel with other OT passages, yields also insight on this matter. But these considerations, after all, provide only a general background, which are not concrete enough for us to answer this question. Thus, the question to be answered here is, Are there hints in the book of Revelation suggesting that John had understood Ezekiel's city along with the battle-camp of Numbers 2-3?

On this question, two passages emerge immediately. The first is Revelation 20:9,

They [the armies gathered by Gog and Magog] marched up over the breadth of the earth and surrounded the camp of the saints and the beloved city (τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγαπημένην). And fire came down from heaven and consumed them.

This verse, to be sure, is one of the greatly debated passages in the book of Revelation. Various identifications of and explanations for "the camp of the saints" and "the beloved city" have been offered by scholars.⁵⁰ But as to the relation between "the camp of the saints" and "the beloved city," most scholars agree that the "καὶ" that stands between the two expressions is epexegetical.⁵¹ As a result, the two expressions refer not to two but to one entity. In a word, the camp of the saints is the beloved city.

⁵⁰ Examples of this will be given shortly.

⁵¹ Mounce, *Revelation*, 363; Morris, *Revelation*, 233; Ladd, *Revelation*, 270; Mealy, *After the Thousand Years*, 138; Farrer, *Revelation*, 208; Thomas, *Revelation 8-22*, 425; Harrington, *Revelation*, 198; Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 269; Boring, *Revelation*, 210; and R. G. Bratcher and H. A. Hatton, *The Hand Book on The Revelation to John* (N. Y.: United Bible Societies, 1993), 291.

Now the camp of the saints, as noted by many,⁵² is "to be understood in the OT sense of the Israelite encampments during their wilderness wanderings (Ex 14:19f; Num 2:2ff; Deut 23 14)."⁵³ For the Greek word for the camp, Παρεμβολή, according to Swete, is "the constant LXX equivalent of מַחֲנֶה," which refers to "a camp, or an army on the march (Ex. xiv. 19 f.) or engaged in battle (Heb. xi. 34)." Thus it "recalls the picture of Israel marching through the wilderness (Num. ii. 2 ff)."⁵⁴

As to the beloved city, its identification has been an issue greatly debated among scholars. Some see it as the restored earthly Jerusalem,⁵⁵ others take it as a "spiritual people, willingly under the dominion of God."⁵⁶ Still others identify it as the new Jerusalem described in Revelation 21:9ff.⁵⁷ This diversity, surely, results from the different positions that the interpreters take on the issues concerning the nature of the millennial kingdom (earthly or heavenly) and the principle of interpretation (i.e., chronology or recapitulation). But as already argued in the preceding chapter, the passages in view here are best read as recapitulative accounts, and thus the beloved city of this verse, in its context, is to be identified as the New Jerusalem narrated in 21:9ff, the city whose basic structure is modeled after the city of Ezekiel 48:30-35.⁵⁸ Reading the verse in this way, then, John's apposition of the camp of the saints with the beloved city serves as a hint, revealing his awareness of the relation between the battle-camp of Numbers 2-3 and Ezekiel's city.

The second passage that serves the same end is Revelation 21:2-3. In 21: 2 John saw the descending of the new city Jerusalem from heaven, and then in verse 3

⁵² E.g., Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 269; Farrer, *Revelation*, 208; Caird, *Revelation*, 257; Mounce, *Revelation*, 363; Chilton, *The Days of Vengeance*, 525; Harrington, *Revelation*, 198; Thomas, *Revelation 8-22*, 425; Beale, *Revelation*, 1026.

⁵³ Mounce, *Revelation*, 363.

⁵⁴ Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 269. That the saints, or the followers of the Lamb, have been constantly pictured as the messianic army (Rev 7:2-14; 14:1-5) supports our claim here. For a detailed treatment on this theme, see Bauckham, *The Climax*, 210-37. See also the same author's treatment on the typological use of the Exodus event in the book of Revelation (*Theology of the Book of Revelation* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993], 70-71), which provides a proper background for our understanding of this particular perspective of John. This characteristic of John enhances the probability of the claim we intend to make here.

⁵⁵ E.g., Thomas, *Revelation 8-22*, 425.

⁵⁶ E.g., Morris, *Revelation*, 233.

⁵⁷ E.g., Charles, *Revelation II*, 144-54.

⁵⁸ This, of course, will be made manifest in the second part of the present chapter.

he heard a loud voice from the throne, interpreting what he had just seen,⁵⁹

Behold, the dwelling (ἡ σκηνή) of God is among mortals. He will dwell with them; they will be his peoples, and God himself will be with them.

Notice here that the Greek word translated as "the dwelling" is "the tent," the very word in the LXX⁶⁰ for the מִשְׁכָּן (tabernacle),⁶¹ the very object that stands in the centre of the battle-camp, and the very symbol for the Presence of God among his people when they were wandering in the wilderness. Thus in John's comparing the new city Jerusalem with the battle-camp, we learn his awareness of the relation of Ezekiel 48 to Numbers 2-3.

The two Revelation passages examined here, to be sure, are only hints. To see the picture more clearly, we now turn to Revelation 21:9-27, the passage in which one will find the NT version of the prophet's city.

Part Two: The Examination of the New Testament Passage

Having seen how Ezekiel transforms the battle-camp model of Numbers 2-3 into an ideal plan for land distribution, we will now deal with John's use of Ezekiel 40-48 in Revelation 21:9-27.⁶² This passage belongs to Revelation 21:9-22:9, the literary unit that concerns the theme of the bride, the New Jerusalem. As already noted in the second chapter of this thesis, this literary unit parallels, antithetically,

⁵⁹ Bauckham, *The Climax*, 310; Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 311; Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 277.

⁶⁰ Σκηνή in the LXX, to be sure, is the word for many Hebrew terms (e.g., אֹהֶל [tent]; סֹכָה [booth]; חֲצֵר [court]), but in 93 of 139 occurrences, it is used for מִשְׁכָּן. For a detailed discussion of the use of σκηνή in the LXX, see W. Michael's, "σκαηνή," in *TDNT* 7: 369-73.

⁶¹ Though another term for tabernacle, אֹהֶל-מוֹעֵד (the tent of meeting), has been used in Numbers 2-3 (2:2), מִשְׁכָּן, however, dominates the passage (3:7, 8, 23, 25, 26, 29, 35, 36, 38), or even the whole book (in all the rest 16 instances, מִשְׁכָּן is used when the tabernacle is mentioned).

⁶² Isaiah 52 and 60, to be sure, are also one of the main OT sources behind John's account of the new Jerusalem. But it is necessarily to note that these two passages are exclusively used in Revelation 21:22-29, the second section of 21:9-27, which pictures the relationship of the city to the Divine (vv. 22-23) and the nations (vv. 24-27). It will be made clear in the following paragraphs that in terms of the architecture, Ezekiel's city (Ezekiel 48:30-35) is the main source for John's new city Jerusalem which is described in Revelation 21:9-21, the first section of the entire account. For a detailed analysis of the use of Isaiah 52 and 60 in Revelation 21, see Ozanne, *The Influence*, 147-49; and Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 265-74.

Revelation 17:1-19:10. This means that, although the two literary units are equally delimited by similar beginnings (cf. 17:1-3; 21:9-10) and endings (cf. 19:9-10; 22:6-9), they are, in terms of content, antithetical. For, while the former unit relates the fall of the great harlot Babylon, the latter the descending of the bride, the New Jerusalem.

Bearing this in mind, we will conduct the following three case studies,⁶³ analyzing how Ezekiel 40-48 has been alluded to in Revelation. Following these is a comparison of John's use of Ezekiel with Ezekiel's use of Numbers 2-3. This comparison attempts to show that for John, the book of Ezekiel is not just a literary source from where he got ideas and imageries for his work, but also a text from which he learned his hermeneutics.

Case R21-1 (Ezek 40:1-2 in Rev 21:9-10)⁶⁴

Rev 21:9-10	Ezek 40:1-2 (LXX)	Ezek 40:1-2 (MT)
Καὶ ἦλθεν εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων τῶν ἔχόντων τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας τῶν γεμόντων τῶν ἑπτὰ πληγῶν τῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ ἐλάλησεν μετ’ ἐμοῦ λέγων, Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι τὴν νύμφην τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀρνίου. ¹⁰ καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με ἐν πνεύματι ἐπὶ ὄρος μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν, καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἰερουσαλὴμ καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ	... ἐγένετο ἐπ’ ἐμὲ χεὶρ κυρίου καὶ ἤγαγέν με ² ἐν ὁράσει θεοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἔθηκέν με ἐπ’ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ σφόδρα καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ὥσει οἰκοδομὴ πόλεως ἀπέναντι	... הִיָּתָה עָלַי יְדִיָּהוּהָ וַיָּבֵא אֹתִי שָׁמָּה בְּמַרְאֹת אֱלֹהִים הִבִּיאֲנִי אֶל-אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְנִיחֵנִי אֶל-הָהָר גְּבוּהָ מְאֹד וַעֲלִיו כְּמִבְנֶה-עִיר מְגֻנֵּב

⁶³ Besides the three cases discussed below, there are some other instances in Revelation 21:9-27 that have been regarded by scholars as containing allusions to Ezekiel 40-48. Examples of this are, Ezekiel 43:1-10 in Revelation 21:11 and Ezekiel 42:15-20 in Revelation 21:13 (Vanhoye, "L'utilisation," 476; Vogelgesang, *The Interpretation*, 40; Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 95). The reason for excluding these cases from our discussion is that the evidence for seeing these cases as allusions is too weak, especially when they are compared with the three cases selected here. For a more detailed discussion of these cases, see the excursus below (i.e., An examination on Vogelgesang's understanding of the use of Ezekiel 40-48 in Revelation 21-22).

⁶⁴ Compared with the MT, the LXX offers a slightly shorter text, i.e., the last sentence of 40:1 (MT) is assimilated with the first sentence of 40:2 (MT). On this difference, scholars are of different opinions. Some take the LXX as the original reading while others prefer the MT (For details, see Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 219, note 1). This difference, however, has no great effect on the validity of the allusion of Revelation to Ezekiel. For in both cases we still can establish a case of allusion at the level of conceptual parallelism.

Revelation 21:9-10 parallels Ezekiel 40:1-2 at least in four points. First, the two passages share the same literary role, i.e., both are introductory words to a visionary account. Second, the two texts share some verbal similarities: cf. the correspondence of (1) ἀπήνεγκέν με to וַיֵּבֵא אֹתִי (40:1) and to וַיְבִיאֵנִי (40:2),⁶⁵ and (2) ἐπὶ ὄρος μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν to אֶל־הַר גְּבוּהַּ מְאֹד.⁶⁶ Third, the two passages reveal a similar scenario, i.e., both texts report the transporting of the seer to a very high mountain so to see something which is not made by human hands. Fourth, the connection between the two texts is most strongly attested by the conceptual analogy between the phrase "ἐν πνεύματι" (Rev 21:10) and the clause "הִיטָה עָלַי יְד־יְהוָה" (Ezek 40:1). This final point is elaborated in the following.

The clause, "הִיטָה עָלַי יְד־יְהוָה",⁶⁷ in Zimmerli's view, is a prophetic form of speech which "seeks to describe Yahweh's taking hold of the prophet and empowering of him."⁶⁸ It originates in the story of the earlier pre-classical prophets where Elisha and Elijah were empowered by Yahweh so, in turn, to deliver an oracle (2 Kgs 3:15) and perform a supernatural act (1 Kgs 18:46). But in the book of Ezekiel, Zimmerli observes, the author has taken a further step, linking this clause with the falling of the spirit of the Lord (3:14; 8:3).⁶⁹ As a result, the two descriptions, i.e., Yahweh's laying his hand on the prophet and the falling of Yahweh's spirit upon the prophet, express the same circumstance, namely, the prophet's being seized by the power of God.⁷⁰ In addition to this, Zimmerli also observes that the clause in view plays a special role in the book of Ezekiel, for all five visions⁷¹ of the book are introduced by the stereotyped expression, "the hand of

⁶⁵ That Revelation does not follow the LXX in rendering "ἤγαγεν με" for "וַיֵּבֵא אֹתִי" (40:1, or וַיְבִיאֵנִי of 40:2) but offers its own "ἀπήνεγκέν με," suggests the dependence of Revelation on the MT.

⁶⁶ Here Revelation does not closely follow the LXX: (1) it gives a free rendering of "μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν" for "גְּבוּהַּ מְאֹד," and (2) it renders "ἐπὶ ὄρος" ὑστεραδ of "ἐπ' ὄρους" (the two Greek phrases, in N. Turner's view [*A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. III, 272], have the same meaning. For in Hellenistic Greek, "ἐπὶ with accusative" is interchangeable with "ἐπὶ with genitive." For examples of this, see Rev 4:2; 14:16).

⁶⁷ Or its variances, וַיִּפֹּל עָלַי שֵׁם יְהוָה (1:3; 3:22) or וַיִּפֹּל עָלַי שֵׁם יְד־יְהוָה (the hand of the Lord fallen upon me, 8:1).

⁶⁸ *Ezekiel 1*, 117.

⁶⁹ W. Zimmerli, "The Special Form- and Tradition-Historical Character of Ezekiel's Prophecy," *VT* 15 (1965), 516-18.

⁷⁰ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 118.

the Lord came upon me" (1:3; 3:22; 8:1, 3; 37:1; 40:1).⁷² In other words, the clause in Ezekiel refers not only "to divine possession as the means of divine-human communication,"⁷³ but particularly to the manifestation of a vision.

Zimmerli's remarks on this certain clause are followed by F. D. Mazzaferri. To the matter of the nexus between the יד and the רוח of Yahweh in Ezekiel 3:14; 8:3; 37:1, Mazzaferri says, "especially noteworthy is 8:3, in which Yahweh's יד, like his רוח, transports the prophet. 40:1 bears comparison, although רוח is not mentioned."⁷⁴ On the role of the clause in the book of Ezekiel, Mazzaferri's examinations of Isaiah 8:11 and Jeremiah 1:9, 15:17, the only other three OT texts that mention Yahweh's hand upon the prophets, also support Zimmerli's view. Note his conclusion:

In brief, a relatively familiar motif of prophetic motivation, the יד יהוה, receives great emphasis in Eze, both quantitatively and qualitatively. It is intensified beyond Jeremiah in Ezekiel's call. In the field of revelation Isa shows no interest, and Jer's is only passing. Accordingly Eze has no peer whatever. Here the concept is closely knit with that of the רוח יהוה, to the very point of transport in vision. Beyond question, Ezekiel is the prophet *par excellence* of Yahweh's hand.⁷⁵

In sum, the two scholars' remarks lead us to the following conclusions. First, in the book of Ezekiel the two descriptions, "Yahweh's laying his hand upon the prophet" and "the coming of the spirit of the Lord," convey the same meaning. They are paraphrases to each other and express the same prophetic phenomenon: the seer's being seized by the spirit of the Lord. Second, the clause, "the hand of Yahweh was upon me," is particular to the book of Ezekiel in that it has been assigned with a special role to play, i.e., to introduce visionary accounts.

⁷¹ Or four visions, if one regards the "second" vision (3:22ff) as a part of the first vision (1:1ff.). For the reasons which will be given below, I incline to see 3:22ff. as an independent vision, without denying its connections with the first vision.

⁷² Zimmerli, "The Special Form," 516. Besides these six references, the clause appears in Ezekiel in two other places. One is at the end of the first vision (3:14) by which the overpowering of the spirit of the Lord on the prophet is reemphasized. The other is in 33:22, the only place that no vision was revealed to or recorded by the prophet.

⁷³ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 24, where the view of R. R. Wilson is summarized ("Prophecy and Ecstasy: A Reexamination," *JBL* 98 [1979], 321-37).

⁷⁴ *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-Critical Perspective* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 108.

⁷⁵ *Idem.*

In addition to the two scholars' observations, one of the characteristics of the visions of the book of Ezekiel, which bears relevance to the following discussion, needs to be noted here. As already acknowledged, there are five visions in the book of Ezekiel (1:1ff.; 3:22ff.; 8:1ff.; 37:1ff.; 40:1ff.). These five visions, though scattered in different places of the book, are in fact carefully connected as literature. This is clearly manifested in a series of references found at various points of the book. The second vision, for example, is linked with the first vision by referring to the presence of Lord's glory which has been narrated in finest details in the first vision (cf. 3:23, "like the glory that I had seen by the river Chebar"). The third vision, furthermore, is connected to the second by the reference words of 8:4, "And the glory of the God of Israel was there, like the vision that I had seen in the valley" (cf. 3:22), and to the first by the words of 10:20, "These were the living creatures that I saw underneath the God of Israel by the river Chebar" (cf. also 10:15, 22). The fifth vision, still further, is associated with both the third and the first visions by the words of 43:3, "the vision I saw was like the vision that I had seen when he came to destroy the city, and like the vision that I had seen by the river Chebar." These references, therefore, constitute a referencing system and point, ultimately, to the first vision in which the prophet receives his commission.⁷⁶ As a result, the first vision is distinguished from the rest of the visions as the "ruling" one. In other words, the rest of the four visions are governed by the first in the sense that they are to carry out what was commanded to the prophet in the first vision.

Having noted the particular status of the first vision, the attention now turns to the rest of the four visions. These four visions, though scattered over the entire book, are in fact constructed as two pairs. The first pair includes the second and the fourth visions (3:22-5:17 and 37:1-14). They are paired because (1) both visions are revealed at the same place, i.e., the valley (הַבִּקְעָה, 3:23; 37:1);⁷⁷ (2) both concern

⁷⁶ The only vision containing no reference remark is the fourth vision. But this "lacking" does not weaken the point I intend to establish here. For the reference remark is only one of the many connections among the five visions of the book. Later we will see that this vision is in fact a counterpart of the second vision.

⁷⁷ According to Allen, "the plane or broad valley refers to part of the wide alluvial plain of Babylonia interspersed with tels and canals. Here it is in the region around Tel Abib" (*Ezekiel* 1-19, 60).

with the house of Israel (בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל),⁷⁸ i.e., the *people*, and (3) the two visions are complementary to each other in that one reveals the judgment of the house of Israel, while the other her restoration.

Ezekiel 8-11 and 40-48, on the other hand, constitute the second pair of visions. Similar to the first pair, they are paired because (1) in both visions the prophet was transported to the same location, i.e., Jerusalem, so to receive the messages which are equally concerned with the fate of Jerusalem, and (2) both visions are complementary, for one relates the judgment of the city Jerusalem, whereas the other her restoration.

In summary, the characteristics of the visions of the book of Ezekiel are as follows. First, all five visions are introduced by the stereotyped clause, the hand of the Lord was upon me. It is a figure of speech expressing the seer's being possessed by the power of the Lord, thus conveying the same idea expressed by the clause, the Spirit of the Lord was upon me (or fell upon me). Second, in addition to this designation, the five visions of the book are interconnected by a referencing system, a system that associates the later four visions with the first vision. Third, the later four visions are constructed as two pairs. Both pairs are constituted of two visions which are complementary to each other.

In the early Christian literature, the phrase ἐν πνεύματι, according to R. Bauckham, "commonly means 'in the Spirit's control,' with various connotations."⁷⁹ In the book of Revelation, this phrase appears in four places: 1:10, 4:2, 17:3, and 21:10. In the first two instances, the phrase is found in an identical clause, ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι; while in the later two, the phrase stands alone as a grammatical unit, modifying the same verb, ἀπήνεγκέν, which refers to the angel's transportation of the seer to, in turn, the wilderness and a very high mountain.

The clause, ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι (1:10; 4:2), in Bauckham's view, "is best understood as a technical term for the visionary's experience of 'rapture' by the Spirit.

⁷⁸ Ezekiel 4:4, 4:5, 5:4, 6:11; cf. 37:11. The four visions in view are of course concerned with the fate of the whole house of Israel, but in comparing with the second pair of visions, (i.e., the third and fifth visions), which focus on the temple, the first pair, relatively speaking, concern more with the *people* of Israel. This is most clearly seen in 4:1-3, for there the destruction of the city Jerusalem, which is presented in the form of a sing-act, is said to be a sign for the house of Israel.

⁷⁹ *The Climax*, 150.

It is probably to be taken as both phenomenological and theological, denoting both the visionary experience as such and the Spirit's authorship of it."⁸⁰ "I was in the Spirit's control," or "I was caught up by the Spirit (NEB)," therefore, seems to be the proper translation of this clause. As to the phrase in 17:3 and 21:10, ἐν πνεύματι, Bauckham suggests that it is a theological statement, emphasizing the agent of the transportation, i. e., the Spirit.⁸¹ This reading is supported by the contexts, for the two visions introduced by this phrase (17:1-19:10; 21:9-22:9) are particularly revealed not by the one like the Son of Man (1:13), nor by the Lamb (5:6; 6:1), but by one of the seven angels (17:1; 21:9). In other words, because these two particular visions are shown by the angel, the phrase, ἐν πνεύματι, is intentionally and strategically placed so to ensure the readers of the authorship of the Spirit. In the book of Revelation, therefore, the basic meaning conveyed in the phrase, ἐν πνεύματι, is the controlling of the Spirit over the seer, though in various contexts the points of emphasis may be different. In this regard, the phrase in view is conceptually paralleled with the clause in Ezekiel, "the hand of the Lord was upon me."⁸²

In addition to this conceptual parallelism, the phrase, ἐν πνεύματι, resembles the clause, הַיְיָהָה עָלַי יְדִי־הֵנָּה, in that it has also been given a special role to play in the book of Revelation. The inaugural vision of the book of Revelation, which concerns the messages of the risen Christ to the seven churches (1:9-3:22), first of all, is introduced by this phrase. The second vision of the book (chs. 4-5), from which develops the entire sequence of judgment visions down to the end of chapter 16, is also introduced by the same phrase. The visions recorded in 17:1-19:10 and 21:9-22:9 which regard, in turn, the judgment of the city Babylon and the restoration

⁸⁰ Ibid., 152. Bauckham, as well as Charles (*Revelation I*, 22), however, maintains that the same clause in 4:2 must mean something more than the one in 1:10, because the seer is already in a trance in 1:10. The clause in 4:2, considering its context (4:1), refers, therefore, also to the Spirit's transporting the seer to heaven. This nuance, however, does not mar the point we intend to establish here. This means that, although the contexts require the reader to understand the same clause in a slightly different way, the clause in itself conveys the same basic ideal in 1:10 and 4:2.

⁸¹ *The Climax*, 154; see also 157.

⁸² Bauckham (ibid., 157) is certainly correct when he observes that Revelation 21:10 is modeled on Ezekiel 40:2, but his paralleling ἐν πνεύματι (Rev 21:10) with בְּמַרְאוֹ (in the vision, Ezek 40:2) is problematic. According to the above analysis, ἐν πνεύματι parallels, conceptually, not to בְּמַרְאוֹ, but to הַיְיָהָה עָלַי יְדִי־הֵנָּה (40:1).

of the city Jerusalem, are also ushered by ἐν πνεύματι. In a word, the four visions which stand in the four major transition points of the book are all prefaced by this very phrase.⁸³

These four visions, similar to that of the later four visions of Ezekiel, are also constructed in two pairs. The first pair consists of the first and the second visions of the book (1:9-33:22; 4:1-16:21). Beside the sharing of the same introductory formula of which we already noticed, the two visions are paired in several other points. First, the two visions are connected by the reference remark intentionally placed at the beginning of the second vision, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἡ πρώτη ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς σάλπιγγος λαλούσης μετ' ἐμοῦ (And the first voice, which I had heard speaking to me like a trumpet, 4:1; cf. 1:10). Second, the two visions are narrated in the same plot: both begin with the description of the glory of one of the Trinity (1:12-16; 4:2-5:14) and end with the messages pertinent to the intended audiences (2:1-3:22; 6:1-16:21). Third, in terms of scenario, the two visions are also paired in that one is of the earth while the other of the heaven (1:9; 4:1). This is demonstrated not only in the contrast between the island of Patmos and the heavenly court, but also in the contrast between the ones revealed in the visions, i.e., between the one incarnated to the world and the Head of the trinity whose throne is in heaven.

The second pair of visions, on the other hand, are the visions of Babylon and of Jerusalem (17:1-19:10; 21:9-22:9). In addition to those linguistic remarks found at the beginning and end of the two accounts, which we already noticed in the chapter two of this thesis, the two visions are also paired in the following points. First, a reference remark, again a superfluous one, is found at the beginning of the later vision which connects the two visions, τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας τῶν γεμόντων τῶν ἑπτὰ πληγῶν τῶν ἐσχάτων (the one who had the seven bowls full of the seven last plagues, 21:9, cf. 17:1). Second, although the identifications of Babylon and of Jerusalem are issues debated among scholars, it is certain that both visions equally use woman as the symbol for the entity that they address. In other words, the two visions in view are intentionally paired by the employing of the two

⁸³ For the view to see the phrase as the structural remark of the book, see Bauckham, *The Climax*, 2-7.

contrasting images, the great whore and the bride (17:1; 21:9). Third, the two visions are also paired in that one revealed the judgment of the world while the other the restoration of the people of God.⁸⁴

The above analysis, therefore, indicates that the four major visions of Revelation bear resemblance to the visions of Ezekiel. On the level of visionary mood, both sets of visions parallel each other in that they all begin with the divine interruption, which, on the one hand, guarantees the authorship of the visions, and on the other hand, denotes the psychological state of the seer. On the level of literary technique, we see that the referencing system used in the book of Ezekiel to connect its five visions is adopted, to some extent, in the book of Revelation. The two seemingly superfluous referrals (Rev 4:1; 21:9)⁸⁵ are therefore the reminiscences of Ezekiel's referral remarks. In terms of the structure of the visions, Revelation also patterns itself after Ezekiel, for it also organizes its four major visions in two pairs. The characteristics of the paired visions of Ezekiel, such as complementarity, are reflected in the paired visions of Revelation.

The influence of an individual vision of Ezekiel on a vision of Revelation has long and widely been recognized by scholars,⁸⁶ but the above analysis shows that the influence of Ezekiel upon Revelation, with respect to the visions of the two books, is far more complicated than what has been recognized. In this case, verbal echoes and conceptual parallelisms, the building blocks for a case of allusion, are indeed found between the two particular visions, but the strongest evidence supporting such a case is the structural parallelism between the two sets of visions. This sort of parallelism,

⁸⁴ It is necessary to note here that no vision equivalent to the first vision of Ezekiel, with respect to its "ruling" status, has been found in the book of Revelation. But the characteristics of that vision, such as the revealing of the glory of the Lord to and the commissioning of the seer, reappear in both first and second visions of the book of Revelation. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume that, instead of following the exact structure of the visions of Ezekiel, the author of Revelation had decided to "merge" his vision of calling with other visions.

⁸⁵ The verbal echoes found among Revelation 4:1, 17:1, and 21:9 support the point claimed here. These echoes include the echoing of (1) "καὶ ἐλάλησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγων" (17:1, 21:9; cf. also 21:15 where the angel is specified as "ὁ λαλῶν μετ' ἐμοῦ") to "λαλοῦσης μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγων" (4:1), and (2) "Δεῦρο, δεῖξω σοι..." (17:1; 21:9) to "Ἀνάβα ὧδε, καὶ δεῖξω σοι..." (4:1).

⁸⁶ Taken the case in question as an example, many scholars of the field equally claimed that Ezekiel 40:1-2 is the source for Revelation 21:9-10; see Vanhoye ("L'utilisation," 454), Vogelgesang (*The Interpretation*, 40), and Goulder ("The Apocalypse," 347). See also S. M. Park, *More than a Regained Eden* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1995), 143; where the views of other scholars (e.g., Mounce, Müller, etc.) on this particular case are given.

therefore, is the proper background against which the individual cases of allusion are to be understood. Having this understanding in mind, the attention is now turned to the next two cases of allusion found also in John's vision of the new Jerusalem.

Case R21-2 (Ezek 48:31-34 in Rev 21:12-13)

Rev 21:12-13	Ezek 48:31-34 (LXX)	Ezek 48:31-34 (MT)
... ἔχουσα πυλῶνας δώδεκα ... καὶ ὀνόματα ἐπιγεγραμμένα, ἃ ἔστιν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ¹³ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς πυλῶνες τρεῖς καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ πυλῶνες τρεῖς καὶ ἀπὸ νότου υλῶνες τρεῖς καὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πυλῶνες τρεῖς	καὶ αἱ πύλαι τῆς πόλεως ἐπ' ὀνόμασιν φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ πύλαι τρεῖς πρὸς βορρᾶν ... ³² καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολᾶς ... καὶ πύλαι τρεῖς ... ³³ καὶ τὰ πρὸς νότον ... καὶ πύλαι τρεῖς ... ³⁴ καὶ τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν ... καὶ πύλαι τρεῖς ...	וְשַׁעֲרֵי הָעִיר עַל-שְׁמוֹת שְׁבַטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁעָרִים שְׁלוֹשָׁה צְפוֹנָה ... וְאֶל-פֶּאֶת קְדִימָה ³² ... וְשַׁעֲרֵים שְׁלֹשָׁה וּפֶאֶת-יְנֵבָה ³³ ... וְשַׁעֲרֵים ... וְשַׁעֲרֵים שְׁלֹשָׁה ³⁴ וְשַׁעֲרֵים שְׁלֹשָׁה

In the preceding case it was seen that the introductory words of the vision (Rev 21:9-10) are formulated in such a way to remind the readers of the vision of Ezekiel 40:1ff. In this case, the descriptions of the new city Jerusalem are narrated in a way to refer the readers to the city Jerusalem of Ezekiel 48:31-5. This is evidenced not only by the large amount of verbal similarities found between the two texts,⁸⁷ but also by the fact that the two cities share the same feature and design, i.e., both cities have twelve gates which are named after the twelve tribes of Israel,⁸⁸ and placed, evenly, on the four sides.

⁸⁷ It needs to be noted that the text of Revelation differs from that of the LXX in two points. First, instead of following LXX's πύλαι (gates), it, throughout the whole vision (21:9-22:9), constantly renders πυλών for שַׁעַר. Second, it uses δυσμῶν for מִזְרָג, whereas the LXX gives θάλασσαν (west). These differences, therefore, suggest that the texts of Revelation, in this case, is independence of the LXX's. For the use of πυλών and πύλαι in classical and late Greek, see Charles, *Revelation II*, 162.

⁸⁸ Ezekiel's enumeration of the tribes, however, has not been followed in Revelation. The reason for this is probably that the point John intended to make here is to combine the twelve tribes with the twelve apostles in one image. There is no need, hence, to enumerate the individual tribes.

Case R21-3 (Ezek 40:3 in Rev 21:15)

Rev 21:15	Ezek 40:3 (LXX)	Ezek 40:3 (MT)
Καὶ ὁ λαλῶν μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶχεν <u>μέτρον κάλαμον</u> χρυσοῦν, ἵνα μετρήσῃ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῆς.	καὶ εἰσήγαγέν με ἐκεῖ καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἡ ὄρασις αὐτοῦ ἦν ὥσει ὄρασις χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν σπαρτίον οἰκοδόμων καὶ <u>κάλαμος μέτρου</u> καὶ αὐτὸς εἰστήκει ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης	וַיָּבִיֵא אוֹתִי שָׁמָּה יְהֹנָדָא מֵרָאִהוּ כְּמֵרָאִה נְחֹשֶׁת וּפְתִיל־פְּשָׁתִים בְּיָדוֹ וַיִּקְנֶה הַמֶּדָּה וְהוּא עֹמֵד בַּשָּׁעַר

In the case R21-1 we have observed that the introductory words of the vision of the new Jerusalem (Ezek 40:1-2), which concern the mode and scenario of the vision, have been reflected in Revelation 21:9-10. Here, the "second" part of the introductory words of the same vision (Ezek 40:3-4) is mirrored in Revelation 21:15 at least in two points. First, in terms of theme, the later vision follows the earlier one in that it also assigns a measuring task to the visionary guide.⁸⁹ Second, the tool for the task of measuring, i.e., the measuring rod (or reed), in both visions is the same.⁹⁰ This connection, on the surface, seems trivial, but given that the tool, μέτρον κάλαμον, appears only here in the whole NT, and that all the six occurrences of מֶדָּה in the OT are found in the Ezekielian vision with which we are dealing now (Ezek 40:3, 5; 42:16, 17, 18, 19),⁹¹ one has to conclude that John's using μέτρον κάλαμον is not accidental. The grammatical structure of John's vision, in addition to the above two points, also supports our claim here. The descriptions of the glory and structure of the city (Rev 21:11-14), which at first glance seem interrupting, are in fact given by a series of participial phrases,⁹² which all belong to 21:10. As a result, Revelation 21:15, in terms of grammar, immediately follows 21:9-10. There is,

⁸⁹ The objects to be measured in the two visions, however, are different. But this difference poses no difficulty to the case I intend to erect here. For, while Ezekiel's major concern was the temple, John's is the city.

⁹⁰ In Ezekiel's vision, however, a measuring cord is also in the hand of the visionary guide. But that particular device is used for measuring something longer (cf. 47:3 where the river is measured). It is probably for this reason that John did not mention it, for the object to be measured in his vision is the city.

⁹¹ Zechariah 2:5 (English 2:1) relates a similar vision in which Jerusalem is also measured, but the tool used there is מֶדָּה מְבֵלָה (measuring line). A comparison of this with the vision of Ezekiel 40:ff. strengthens the point we intend to prove here.

⁹² Notice the ἔχουσιν in 21:11 and the two ἔχουσα in 21:12.

therefore, no "interruption." The introductory formula of Ezekiel's vision of the restored city Jerusalem (Ezek 40:1-4) is closely followed by John when he narrated his vision of the new Jerusalem.⁹³

In conjunction with what we have observed in the preceding two cases (R21-1 and R21-2), it is clear now that with regard to the setting of the vision, such as the mode and scenario of the vision and the role of the angelic guide, John's vision of the new Jerusalem is modeled after that of Ezekiel's. But as far as the content of the vision is concerned, John's vision, varies from Ezekiel's. For, while the prophet's vision is concerned more with the temple, John's vision focuses solely on the city. Failing to recognize this will result in a misunderstanding of the relation between the two visions in view. An example of this is given below.

Excursus:

An examination on J. M. Vogelgesang's understanding of the use of Ezekiel 40-48 in Revelation 21-22⁹⁴

In his dissertation, the use of Ezekiel 40-48 in Revelation 21-22 is the first case among three Vogelgesang dealt with.⁹⁵ The reason to place this particular case before the other two, according to Vogelgesang, is because Revelation 21-22 "contain some of the most obvious Ezekiel-traced material,"⁹⁶ because there are some clear and radical departures from Ezekiel in the Ezekiel-traced material of these visions, which require some type of explanation, and because of the primary importance of the New Jerusalem material for both Ezekiel and Revelation.⁹⁷

To the first and the third reasons, I give my consent. But as to the second reason, i.e., John has radically departed from Ezekiel in that he has intentionally excluded the temple, the focal point of Ezekiel's restoration program, from his

⁹³ It is interesting to note that the literary technique of "splitting" of an introductory formula of an earlier vision into two and making them to preface two visionary counterparts of a later vision is not the invention of John, but a literary art already used in the book of Ezekiel. For this, see Parunak, *Structural Studies*, 509, where he, in the light of the corresponding of Ezekiel 40:1-3 to 8:1-3 and 43:2-5 to 8:3-4, observes that the introduction of the third vision of the book of Ezekiel (8:1-4) has been breached into two to preface the visionary counterparts in Ezekiel 40-2 and 43-46. This sort of resemblance enhances the above observation that John's visions are constructed in the same way as that of Ezekiel's.

⁹⁴ *The Interpretation*. J. Fekkes (*Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 95-6), W. J. Dumbrell (*The End of the Beginning*, 38), A. Y. Collins (*The Combat Myth*, 229), and C. Deutsch ("Transformation of Symbols: The New Jerusalem in Rv 21:1-22:5," *ZNW* 78 [1987], 106-26; 114 especially) hold a similar view to that of Vogelgesang. But due to the reason that Vogelgesang's treatment on the issue is, among many others, the most thorough one, I will deal with his view here only.

⁹⁵ *The Interpretation*, 74-134. The other two cases are: (1) Ezekiel 1 in Revelation 4, and (2) Ezekiel 1:28b-3:14 in Revelation 1, 5, 10.

⁹⁶ For the evidence of the use of Ezekiel 40-48 in Revelation 21-22 that Vogelgesang provides, see *ibid.*, 38-43.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 74

vision of new Jerusalem (Rev 21:22),⁹⁸ I found it difficult to follow. Vogelgesang begins his investigation with this "radical change," i.e., the negation of the existence of the temple in John's vision, and concludes that John has made a reinterpretation of Ezekiel's temple. On the basis of this, he then proceeds to scrutinize the rest of the Ezekiel-traced material in Rev 21-22.⁹⁹ This methodology in itself, i.e., starting from the most obvious case and then to those not-so-obvious cases, seems a good one. But the problem is that when one makes some mistakes in that first and obvious case, the credibility of the rest of the investigations will be marred because these later investigations are based on the working hypothesis derived from the work of the first case. Unfortunately, this is exactly the thing that happened. Right from the beginning of his study, Vogelgesang has failed to notice that in Ezekiel's program, the temple and the city have been intentionally separated, as we have already seen in the earlier part of this chapter. His failure probably, I suspect, resulted from his presupposition, i.e., when some evidences of allusion are found between the two visions in question, one is to assume that it is the entire former vision to which the allusion is made. To Vogelgesang, the absence of the central figure of Ezekiel's vision (i.e., the temple and its regulations) in John's vision, therefore, must mean that a reinterpretation has been done. That is to say, the temple of Ezekiel is reinterpreted as the city in Revelation. Our above analysis, however, suggests that such a presupposition is problematic. The references to the introduction (cases R21-1, R21-3) and to the final verses of Ezekiel's vision (case R21-2) do not necessarily mean that John intended to make an allusion to the entire vision of Ezekiel. These reference remarks are placed, according to the above examinations, to remind the readers of the particular setting of the vision the seer was in and the particular object the author had in mind. "Exactly to which point does the author intend to allude?" is the question to be asked in each and every case of allusion. The statement in Revelation 21:22, "And I saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb," therefore, is not a reinterpretation of the temple of Ezekiel, and consequently signifies not "a startling development."¹⁰⁰ It is, on the contrary, a remark pointing the readers to city of Ezekiel 48:30-35, and thus denotes the following of an old thought.

But how do we deal with the six instances offered by Vogelgesang to sustain his claim that in John's vision the temple has been reinterpreted as the city by way of transferring the characteristics of the temple to the city? (1) NESW is the order of compass points of the city in Ezekiel 48:30-35, but John's order, ENSW (Rev 21:13), is taken from Ezekiel 42:16-20 where the temple is in view. (2) While Ezekiel 43:5 speaks of the entering of God's glory into the temple, Revelation 21:11 presents the city as having the glory of God. (3) Ezekiel 41:8 mentions the foundations of the side chambers of the temple, whereas Revelation 21:14 describes the foundations of the city's walls. (4) Both the temple (Ezek 40:3ff.) and the city (Rev 21:15-17) are measured. (5) Both the temple (or temple area) and the city have walls (Ezek 40:5; 41:5,6,9,12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 22, 25; 42:7, 10, 12, 20; 43:8 [?]; Rev 21:14-15, 17-19). (6) While the temple area or walls function as the boundary between the holy and common, the city, together with its

⁹⁸ Note his words, "The most obvious change which John makes in his usage of Ezekiel is the exclusion of the temple from the New Jerusalem. 'And I saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb,' Rev 21:22" (Ibid., 76-77). See also his comment on this change, "This is a deliberate and radical reinterpretation the his (Ezekiel's) Vorlage" (77).

⁹⁹ Ibid., 75.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 77.

walls and gates, serves a similar function.¹⁰¹

These six instances, on the surface, seem to support Vogelgesang's claim, but a closer look will show that they may be otherwise explained. The third example, to begin with, is in fact an invalid one. For the side chambers of the temple are not the equivalent parts of the walls of John's city.¹⁰² Second, concerning the order of the compass point, our earlier analysis of the use of battle-camp model (Num 2-3) in Ezekiel 48 already shows that the exact order is not the major concern of the later writer, so here John is not obliged to follow the order of Ezekiel's city model. To be exact, Ezekiel 42:16-20 gives the order of the *measuring* of the temple, whereas Revelation 21:13 the order of the compass. Third, regarding the glory of God, Ezekiel 48:35 also mentions Yahweh's dwelling in the city, so the reference does not necessarily point to Ezekiel 43. Fourth, as to the mentioning of the walls in both texts, we need only to point out that walls are common structure to most of the ancient cities and temples.¹⁰³ In sum, these points of connection are either invalid in themselves or too weak to sustain a case of allusion.¹⁰⁴ They do not support the claim of Vogelgesang.

Having questioned Vogelgesang's understanding of this particular case, his conclusion that John has made a great deal of condensation of his *Vorlage*, consequently, is to be reconsidered. For that conclusion is based on the observation that John reinterpreted the temple (Ezek 40-46) as the city (Rev 21:11-27), an observation found difficult to follow. Our later analysis will show that what happens in this case is not abridgment, but on the contrary elaboration,¹⁰⁵ to which issue we now turn.

That John's new Jerusalem, regarding its basic structure, is modeled after Ezekiel's restored Jerusalem is what we have seen earlier in the case of R21-2. Yet even a casual reader of the two texts will immediately notice that John's city is far more grandiose and splendid than Ezekiel's. The effect of grandiosity, first of all, is achieved by two ways. First, while Ezekiel limited his restored Jerusalem to two dimensions (i.e., length and width), John adds the third dimension (i.e., height), presenting his new Jerusalem in a cube-shape (Rev 21:16).¹⁰⁶ Second, while Ezekiel

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 77-8.

¹⁰² Cf. Ezekiel 40:5ff. where the temple are said to have its own outer walls.

¹⁰³ To be exact, not all walls mentioned in Ezekiel 40-48 are the counterparts of the walls of the city in Revelation 21. Ezekiel 43:8, for example, refers not to the walls of the restored temple, but to the wall in the old Jerusalem which separates the temple and the palace.

¹⁰⁴ These points of connection, if they are not invalid in themselves, can be termed, at the best, as echoes, not allusions.

¹⁰⁵ At some points of his analysis, Vogelgesang himself also acknowledges that there are "exceptions" to what he thought of as the general tendency of John's use of Ezekiel, i.e., abridgment, when he comes to Revelation 21:13, 19-20. At these points, he admitted that elaboration is the characteristic of these texts (see his *The Interpretation*, 91 and 116).

¹⁰⁶ According to Revelation 22:1 where the text pictures a river flowing from God's throne, W. Hoste imagines the city as a pyramid (*The Visions of John the Divine* [Kilmarnock: John Ritchie, 1932], 178). But such suggestion stands only when one takes the description of the symbol as the description of reality, a sort of fallacy in interpreting the symbol which will be dealt with later.

introduces his city with a reasonable measurement (both the length and width of his city are 4,500 cubits which equals, approximately, to 1.5 miles; see Ezek 48:16), John gives his city a size beyond imagination, i.e., 12,000 furlongs in each direction which is nearly 1,500 miles (Rev 21:16).¹⁰⁷

The effect of splendour, on the other hand, is accomplished by the using of those gemmological terms to describe the materials of which the walls, gates and foundations of the city are made (Rev 21:11, 18-21). But the most significant difference between the two cities is that, while the earlier model bears only the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, the later has also the names of the twelve apostles inscribed upon the foundations of the city walls (Rev 21:14). Obviously the intention of this "addition" is to combine Israel with the NT church in one symbol. This can be seen not only in the fact that the gates and the foundations, upon which the names of the twelve tribes of Israel and of twelve apostles are inscribed, belong to the same structure, i.e., the city walls, but also in the fact that the measurement of that particular structure is specified as 144 cubits (Rev 21:17), the product of twelve times twelve.¹⁰⁸

The implication of this change is at least threefold. Historically, this adding signifies John's conception of Jesus' election of the twelve apostles. To him, that election belongs not only to the sphere of ordinary history, but also to the domain of revelation (cf. Rev 1:1). In other words, the election of the twelve, in John's perception, is an event denoting a new development in the history of revelation. This perception results in a theological implication, i.e., the continuity of the church and Israel. In terms of hermeneutics, and this is the third implication, this change connotes John's reinterpretation of Ezekiel's city. For the Ezekielian symbol for the

¹⁰⁷ Some scholars take the 12,000 furlongs as the figure for the circumference of the city. But even if that is the case, the city of Revelation will be about 400 miles in each direction, which is still a size beyond comprehension.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas, on Revelation 21:14, notes that the teaching of this passage is the dual election of Israel and the church. "The words clearly show that God has an eschatological role for both peoples. Beyond dispute, this description of the bride-city separates believers among Israel from believers of the church, and in a symbolic way assigns the two groups separate roles in the new creation" (*Revelation 8-22*, 465). But our above analysis has shown that oneness is the point of emphasis here. This sort of understanding, accordingly, is to be rejected.

people of Israel has been redefined by him as a symbol for both the old and the new peoples of God.

To summarize, our above analysis of the relation of Revelation 21:9-27 to Ezekiel 40-48 confirms what the past scholarship had established, i.e., John's vision of the new Jerusalem is influenced by Ezekiel's restoration program. But our examinations also show that the past investigations did not properly recognize the depth of that influence. The way Ezekiel constructed his visions, i.e., in pairs, for example, has been followed by John. The referencing system used by Ezekiel to connect his visions, furthermore, has also been adopted by the later author. The introductory formula of Ezekiel's restoration program by which the setting of the vision is set, still further, has also been closely followed. John's vision, accordingly, is not a mosaic kind of work, constituted by many separated and unrelated reminiscences cutting off from the source materials, but an account carefully narrated with all the literary characteristics of his source in mind.¹⁰⁹ Literary resemblance, however, does not guarantee thematic parallelism. Our above scrutiny shows that John's city is not the counterpart of Ezekiel's temple. His interest is not the temple, but the restored city. He elaborates that image and re-defines its symbolism. Condensation, hence, is not the thing happening here. What happens is elaboration, for the plain city of Ezekiel (Ezek 48:30-34) has been transformed into a new city whose grandiosity is beyond all human imagination and whose splendour can only be described in terms of gold and all sorts of jewels.

A comparison of John's use of Ezekiel with Ezekiel's use of Numbers

Having seen how Ezekiel uses Numbers 2-3 in Ezekiel 47-48 and how John uses Ezekiel 40-48 in Revelation 21:9-27, we now come to the point of comparison. In comparing the two usages, the first thing that comes to our attention is that both authors shared the same experience, i.e., exile (one of Babylon and the other of Patmos), and wrote their work in the same kind of historical situation, i.e., in the sequel of the destruction of the temple (one of the first and the other the second).

¹⁰⁹ Spatial symbolism is also the literary characteristic found in both accounts. This sort of parallelism will be dealt with later. For now, we only need to note that such a parallelism also sustains the connection between the two accounts in view.

Psychologically and historically, thereby, the two authors parallel each other. The parallelism between the two authors is further seen in the same reaction they took to the same sort of catastrophe, for both authors equally turn to their traditions for inspirations when they came to the issue of restoration. In Ezekiel's case we see his returning to the Pentateuch, detecting in Numbers 2-3 a model and using it as a paradigm to express his ideal about the restored Israel. In John's case we see his returning to the Prophets, spotting in Ezekiel 40-48 a pattern and introducing it in his work as a symbol for the new people of God. Toward God's earlier revelations, the two authors thus share the same mentality.

To share the same mentality, however, does not necessarily mean that the two authors were equally motivated by the same concern when they turned their eyes to their traditions. In Ezekiel's case we noticed that his concern is more with the undoing of the past evil, i.e., the false reliance on the inviolability of the old city Jerusalem. In his program, accordingly, we see the prophet's depriving the city of the privilege of being both the religious center and the nation's capital, and his making the restored Jerusalem a symbol for the people of God. John's concern, to be sure, is different from Ezekiel's. His vision of the new city Jerusalem is aimed at comforting his readers under persecution.¹¹⁰ He therefore revealed to them that they, though suffering, are the city of God, having His glory because in them dwells the Lord Almighty and the Lamb. Yet this difference should not hinder us from observing John's following Ezekiel's city model, although he has made an expansion on the symbolism of that imagery in his case.

To have that mentality, on the other hand, does not necessarily mean to be pedantic. In both cases we learn that while returning to their traditions for inspiration, the two authors also equally incorporate a new element into the models they borrowed, and thus reinterpret the models they had in mind. Here we refer to

¹¹⁰ The first readers of the book, to be sure, suffered from various conditions, such as the opposition raised from the exercising of the emperor cult (Rev 13:4, 8, 12; 14:9; etc.), the conflict between them and the Jewish community (2:9-10; 3:7-9), and the tension within the church regarding the accommodation to the contemporary culture (2:14-15, 20-21). But in view of the antithetical parallelism between the vision of Babylon (17:1-19:10) and the vision of Jerusalem (21:9-22:9), the kind of suffering the author intended to soothe seems more likely to be the one coming from the exercising of the emperor cult.

Ezekiel's incorporating the institution of dynasty into the battle-camp model and to John's adding the twelve apostles of the Lamb to the city of Ezekiel. Viewed from this perspective, the two authors in view also parallel, hermeneutically, each other. In other words, the influence of Ezekiel 40-48 on Revelation 21 is not limited to the literary level but also includes a hermeneutical dimension. This means that not only does John follow the form of Ezekiel's vision and re-use some of its materials, but he also adopts Ezekiel's hermeneutics when he formulates his vision.

Part Three:

The Implication of John's Use of Ezekiel 40-48 for the Understanding of His Vision of the New Jerusalem

Like many other passages of the same book, John's vision of the new city Jerusalem has been variously understood.¹¹¹ This phenomenon, it seems to me, results from the interpreters' different opinions on the following two issues which are mingled with each other. The first is the issue *When*, i.e., to which stage of the end time does this city belong? And the second is the issue *What*, i.e., what does the city exactly represent?

On the first issue, scholars line themselves in two camps. The first includes R. H. Charles¹¹² and those who followed him,¹¹³ for they equally thought that the texts of the final chapters of Revelation had been disarranged by an unintelligent later hand. As a result, a new sequence of texts, with minor differences, was proposed. In that sequence of texts, the heavenly city Jerusalem in 21:9-27, the city considered here, is "the seat of the Millennial Kingdom"¹¹⁴ and belongs to that particular stage of the end time, the stage ushered in by the Parousia (19:11-21) and followed by, in turn, the final attack of Gog and Magog (20:7-10), the great white throne judgment (20:11-15), and the coming of the new heaven and earth (20:5a, 4d, 5b, 1-4abc;

¹¹¹ For a summary and evaluation of different understandings of the new city Jerusalem, see L. D. Melton, *A Critical Analysis of the Understanding of the Imagery of City in the Book of Revelation* (Ph. D. dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1978).

¹¹² *Revelation II*, 144-54.

¹¹³ E.g., Ford, *Revelation*, 38-39.

¹¹⁴ Charles, *Revelation II*, 157.

22:3-5).¹¹⁵ This proposal, as already noted in the earlier part of the thesis, is found difficult to follow, so we will mention it here only, giving no further consideration.

Taking the text as it stands and conceiving the description of Jerusalem in Revelation 21:9-27 as the further elaboration of the new city Jerusalem mentioned in 21:2, many scholars, on the other hand, hold that the descending of the new city Jerusalem from heaven to the renovated world (21:1-2) signifies the arrival of the stage of consummation.¹¹⁶ A. Farrer, for example, comments: the vision of 21:1-8 describes "the last of the Last things" and is "the end of the visionary drama. Nothing happens after the end of happening."¹¹⁷ In this understanding, the new city Jerusalem belongs to the stage of consummation, the final and everlasting stage of time that lies in the future. Within the same camp, however, there are some who comprehend the ideal of consummation differently. W. Hendriksen, for example, holds that the vision in view covers the time starting from the establishing of the church and running into eternity.¹¹⁸ Hendriksen's conception on the consummation, accordingly, is broader than that of Farrer, for it includes the time between the first and the second coming of Christ. In considering the pertinence of these two different opinions, John's use of Ezekiel's restoration program, in this temporal aspect, provides not much insight, for both scholars' conceptions on the consummation fit Ezekiel's perspective. This means that, the two end times, though one longer and the other shorter, lie, equally, in the future if we view them from the days of Ezekiel. John's use of Ezekiel's program, however, sheds light on the second issue, namely, what exactly does the city represent? But before we turn to that issue, it is interesting to note in advance that when the issue *What* has been dealt with, the question concerning *When* will in turn be answered. So we will leave the question *When* open for now and go on to see what light we might gain from John's use of Ezekiel in this particular case.

As far as the symbolism of the new city Jerusalem of Revelation 21 is concerned, the interpretations offered by the scholars fall, by and large, into three

¹¹⁵ Charles, *Revelation I*, xxviii.

¹¹⁶ E.g., Ladd, *Revelation*, 276, 280; Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 305, 314-15.

¹¹⁷ *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 211.

¹¹⁸ *More than Conquerors*, 197; cf. also Wilcock, *The Message of Revelation*, 207; Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 317-18.

categories. The first is the opinion that the city is to be taken as a place where the people of God dwell. J. F. Walvoord, for example, suggests that John's Jerusalem should be taken as an actual city.¹¹⁹ G. E. Ladd, though not taking the city in such a physical sense, proposes that the city is the temporal dwelling place of the departed saints which will descend from heaven to the new earth at the time of consummation.¹²⁰ The second opinion is that the city resembles not a dwelling place, be it physical or spiritual, but a people.¹²¹ As J. Roloff puts it, "at issue in the end here is not a piece of end-time topography but the becoming visible of the perfected salvation community."¹²² This understanding, therefore, takes the city, a spatial image, as a symbol pointing to the reality of another sphere. Like the second opinion, the third view also rejects a literal understanding of the city image and takes it as a symbol. Yet, unlike the second, the third view suggests that the symbolism of the city is not of people but of relationship. W. J. Dumbrell, for example, maintains that the new Jerusalem is the symbol for God's future government. Politic, therefore, is the ruling concept of this symbol.¹²³ G. R. Beasley-Murray, says also that "the symbolism of the bride and the city depict fundamentally the same thing, namely, God's people in fellowship with their Redeemer."¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1966), 313; see also J. A. Seiss, *The Apocalypse: A Series of Special Lectures on the Revelation of Jesus Christ* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966), 495-96.

¹²⁰ *Revelation*, 276; see also 282.

¹²¹ Swete (*The Apocalypse*, 277); Harrington (*Revelation*, 209); Kiddle (*The Revelation of St. John*, 415-6); Boring (*Revelation*, 219-21); Mounce (*Revelation*, 370; 386); Ford (*Revelation*, 222-23); R. H. Gundry ("The New Jerusalem: People as Place, not Place for People," *NT* 29 [1987], 254-64); B. M. Metzger (*Breaking the Code: Understanding the Book of Revelation* [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993], 100); Beale (*Revelation*, 1064); and many others hold this view, though they are varied on the issue concerning the scope of the people which is symbolized by the imagery of the city, an issue that will be dealt with later.

¹²² *Revelation*, 235.

¹²³ *The End of the Beginning*, 1-36 (see also pages 119-65 where he also suggests the city Jerusalem as the people, the new Israel. But this element, to him, constitutes only a part of the whole symbol, not the dominated concept). To sustain his thesis, Dumbrell reviews many Old and New Testament texts (including Ezekiel 40-48) and concludes that the symbolism of Jerusalem in all these passages is of God's government. Dumbrell's analyses of these biblical texts are of insight, but the problem emerges when he suggests that John's new Jerusalem is also to be thus understood. In other words, his difficulty is his reading a pre-existing concept into a later text. Our above examinations suggest that John's interest is not the "political" Jerusalem, but the Jerusalem which had been redefined by the prophet Ezekiel. Dumbrell's interpretation of John's Jerusalem, accordingly, is to be refuted.

¹²⁴ *Revelation*, 315-6; see also his article "The Contribution of the Book of Revelation to the Christian Belief in Immortality," *SJT* 27 (1974), 82.

In considering the appropriateness of these three different views, John's use of Ezekiel in this certain case is helpful at least in two aspects. The first is the principle of the interpretation of symbol and the second the decipherment of the symbolism of the new Jerusalem.

John's use of Ezekiel 40-48, first of all, is of help in that it provides a hint to his readers of how to understand his vision. The prophet's vision, to which John resorted, is in itself a representation of an ideal. The cartography of the temple (Ezek 40-42) and the topography of the land allotment (Ezek 47-48), as we already noticed, are not to be taken in their face value, but as the means the prophet used to represent something which is not of a spatial sphere. This characteristic is also seen in the prophet's representation of the city. Our comparison of the design of the Contribution land with the battle-camp model (Num 2-3) clearly shows that the city had been redefined by the prophet and became a symbol for the people of God. The prophet's vision, in this respect, functions as an example for the readers of John's vision. It suggests to them the way to understand John's vision. Seen from this perspective, the opinion regarding the new city Jerusalem as the dwelling place for God's people is to be questioned.¹²⁵ John's description of the new city is not to be taken literally. B. M. Metzger's suggestion concerning the principle of understanding the symbols of Revelation is worth noting here, "it is important to recognize that the descriptions are *descriptions of symbols, not of the reality conveyed by the symbols*."¹²⁶

Second, John's use of Ezekiel 40-48 is also helpful in deciphering the symbolism of the new city Jerusalem. In our earlier analysis, we noted that by adding the names of the twelve apostles to the image he adopted from Ezekiel, John has extended the symbolism of the city image. But such extension affects not the symbolism *per se*, but the scope of the entity that the city symbolizes. In other words, John alters not the symbolism of Ezekiel's restored city, but only makes an enlargement of its symbolism. Between the two interpretations left, John's use of

¹²⁵ The new city Jerusalem is, in a sense, a dwelling place. But it is, as R. H. Gundry ("The New Jerusalem," 256) aptly observed, the dwelling place of God in the saints, not their dwelling place.

¹²⁶ *Breaking the Code*, 14.

Ezekiel 40-48, therefore, approves the second opinion, that is, to read the city as people.

This understanding of the city is, in fact, already hinted in the earlier part of the book. In 3:12, the first readers of the book are encouraged by the promise of Christ that he who overcomes will not only be made a pillar in the temple of God, but also be the bearer of the names of God, of Christ and of the city of God, the new Jerusalem that comes down from my God out of heaven (τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου, τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ ἡ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, cf. 21:2, 10 for similar wordings). In other words, earlier in the book, the readers were made "to regard the new Jerusalem as personal rather than [than?] topographical."¹²⁷ This identification of the city as the people of God is nowhere else more clearly presented than in 20:9. For, there "the beloved city" has been explicitly paralleled with "the camp of the saints."

The identification of the city as people, besides these direct connections, is also sustained by John's comparison of the city with the bride in the two related visions (21:1-8; 9-27; vv. 2 and 9-10 especially). For already in 19:7-8 the readers have learned that the bride of the Lamb is the saints, arrayed in their deeds of righteousness. So, no surprise is waiting for them when they come to these two visions. They know already that these two different images symbolize the same reality. It is quite natural, thereby, to see the apposition of these two images when the book comes to its end.

Objections to this understanding of the city, however, might be raised from the camp that takes the city as a symbol of relationship between God and His people: "Is it not that the main characteristic of Ezekiel's restoration program is that of theocentricity, i.e., a characteristic of relationship?" "Is it not that such a

¹²⁷ Gundry, "The New Jerusalem," 256. Gundry's understanding of the new city Jerusalem is correct, but his methodology is problematic. He begins with a presupposition, i.e., the city as people, and proceeds to read the book so to see if this hypothesis has "the power to enliven the text and give it an elegant explanation" (256). The problem of this approach is its subjectivity. Anyone who comes with a presupposition will, in most of the cases, find supports from the book. Taking the view to see the city as an imagery of harmony between God and men as an example, one will surely find evidence from the book supporting such a hypothesis. My inquiry into the OT sources for the originality of such understanding, in this respect, is much more objective. It proves a historical background for such an understanding which, in turn, sheds light on our determining which reading, among many others, is more appropriate.

characteristic is also present in the design of the Contribution land, in which the Priest land stands in the center?" "Is it true that such a feature also emerges in John's visions, in which he heard the voice from the throne, saying 'See, the tabernacle of God is among mortals. He will dwell with them; they will be his peoples, and God himself will be with them' (21:3, cf. also 21:22)?" To all these inquiries, the answer is certainly "Yes." But as far as the symbolism of the city is concerned, these inquiries bear no direct relevance. The designation of the Contribution land, for example, is indeed characterized by theocentricity, but that feature is presented, as we already noted, in the geographical location of the Priests' land to the lands surrounding it. In other words, the city *per se* symbolizes only the people of God; its geographical location to the temple symbolizes the relation between God and His people.

Objections to this understanding of the city, furthermore, might be raised from the visionary account itself, because at a particular place the texts seem to imply that the city is to be taken as a spatial imagery, "and anything unclean will not enter into it (καὶ οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτὴν πᾶν κοινὸν), nor anyone who practices abomination or falsehood, but only those who are written in the Lamb's book of life" (21:27). In many occasions of the NT, the phrase "εἰσέρχομαι εἰς" is indeed used to convey the idea of movement between two places (E.g., Matt 21:10; Mark 11:11), but in many other instances, we also learn that the same phrase has been used in a figurative manner. Examples of this are the entering into the kingdom of God or of heaven (e.g., Matt 5:20; Mark 9:47; Luke 18:17), the entering into the eternal life (e.g., Matt 18:8; Mark 9:43); the entering into rest (e.g., Heb 3:11; 4:1), the entering into Christ's glory (e.g., Luke 24:26), and the entering into someone's labour, i.e., to enjoy the fruit of his labor (Jas 4:38).¹²⁸ The phrase in itself, thereby, does not necessarily refer to a spatial movement. Its meaning is ultimately decided by its context. The unclean ones will not enter into the city, accordingly, could mean that they will not be part of it or they have no share in it.¹²⁹ This reading is supported by

¹²⁸ BAGD, 233.

¹²⁹ Cf. the warning the author placed at the end of his book, "if anyone takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, *God will take away that person's share* in the tree of life and *in the holy city*, which are described in this book [*Italic mine*]" (Rev 22:19).

Mark 10:15 and Luke 18:17 (cf. Matt 18:3) where the same string of words appears, "Truly I tell you, whoever does not receive the kingdom of God as a little child will never enter it (οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν)." ¹³⁰

Having seen that John's use of Ezekiel in this certain case is in favor of the view that takes the new Jerusalem as the symbol for the people of God, the question concerning *Who* emerges immediately, that is, who are the people symbolized by the imagery of the new city Jerusalem? On this question which concerns the scope of the symbolism, scholars are varied from one to the other. Standing at the one end of the spectrum, J. M. Ford insists that the city here (21:9ff.) represents "the ideal Jewish community, i.e., orthodox Judaism." ¹³¹ "Nothing in our text clearly identifies this new Jerusalem with the Christian community." ¹³² At the other end of the spectrum are those who regard the city as a symbol for universal salvation. Vogelgesang, for example, holds that what John intended to do is "to describe the holy city as 'Babylon redeemed.'" ¹³³ This, to him, means that the kings and the nations, who have associated themselves with Babylon and consequently have been thrown into the lake of fire (19:17-21; 20:11-15), are transformed and redeemed in Revelation 21-22 and become the new Jerusalem. ¹³⁴ In a similar vein, M. E. Boring says, "the new Jerusalem is not populated by the 'chosen people' only; the peoples of the earth, the

¹³⁰ In the entire NT, these are the only three places where the clause appears.

¹³¹ "The Heavenly Jerusalem and Orthodox Judaism," in *Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of David Daube*, eds. C. K. Barrett, E. Bammel, and W. D. Davies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 215-26; see 219 for quotation. Ford arrives at this identification in two steps. First, since the imagery of harlot applied to the city Babylon in Revelation 17 was an imagery for either Jerusalem or Israel in many OT and Qumran texts, the harlot Babylon of Revelation 17 is not the city Rome, but the faithless Israel. Second, since the bride new Jerusalem (Rev 21:9ff.) is the true counterpart of the harlot Babylon (Rev 17), the new Jerusalem must be the faithful Israel. Ford's logic, on the surface, seems sound, but such logic is based on the presupposition which is unattainable, i.e., a later writer is confined by the traditions, having no ability to make a reinterpretation of the adopted imagery, or a re-applying of the adopted imagery to another entity.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 218. The mentioning of the twelve apostles in 21:14 which obviously poses difficulty to Ford's statement quoted here is taken by her as an interpolation; see her commentary, *Revelation*, 333.

¹³³ *The Interpretation*, 99.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 105, 127-8. Vogelgesang's assertion is based on his observation that the great harlot Babylon (Rev 17) parallels with the bride new Jerusalem (Rev 21-2). This observation, in a general sense, is true, but falls short to pinpoint that the two entities are made to be antithetical paralleled to each other. For details of this antithetical parallelism, see San-Jarn T. Wu, *A Literary Study of Isaiah 63-65 and Its Echo in Revelation 17-22* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Trinity International University, 1995), 204-11; see also Jean-Pierre Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 167.

very nations and even their kings (21:24!) that had opposed God's rule and oppressed the church, are here pictured as redeemed citizens of the Holy City."¹³⁵ Standing between these two ends are the ones who contend that the new Jerusalem symbolizes both the old and the new covenant people of God.¹³⁶ As R. H. Mounce puts, "the juxtaposition of the twelve tribes and the twelve apostles shows the unity of ancient Israel and the New Testament church."¹³⁷ Or as R. Bauckham says, "the history of the covenant people - both of the one nation Israel and of the church which is redeemed from all the nations - will find its eschatological fulfillment in the full inclusion of all the nations in its covenant privileges and promises."¹³⁸

In facing such diverse understandings of the symbolism of the new Jerusalem, John's use of Ezekiel is once again helpful. First of all, John's adding the new element, i.e., the twelve apostles of the lamb, to the city model of Ezekiel signifies, as noted earlier, his enlargement of the symbolism of the adopted imagery. Considering this, the view of the new Jerusalem as the symbol for the ideal Jewish community is to be rejected. This new element is, in fact, the point of emphasis in the whole visionary account. For, among many parts of the city structure, the foundations of the city walls upon which the names of the apostles are inscribed, are the most elaborated components (21:19-20).¹³⁹ To miss this, hence, is to miss one of the main points of the vision.

John's use of Ezekiel in this case, secondly, makes it difficult to follow the view that takes the city as the symbol of all mankind. The people symbolized by the

¹³⁵ *Revelation*, 221. Boring, at this point, seems inconsistent, for in page 219 he suggests, "the city as a whole is the community of believers, the temple in which God dwells." The same inconsistency is also seen in the commentary of Harrington, *Revelation*; cf. 209 with 218.

¹³⁶ E.g., Charles, *Revelation II*, 162-63; Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 321; Morris, *Revelation*, 243; Beale, *Revelation*, 1064 and 1070.

¹³⁷ *Revelation*, 379.

¹³⁸ *The Theology of the Book of Revelation*, 139. For a detailed discussion of the conversion of the nations in Revelation, see the same author's *The Climax*, 238-337 (ch. 9).

¹³⁹ In comparing with the gates of the city which are said to be made of pearls (21:21a) and the street of the city which is said of gold (21:21b), the foundations of the city walls receive the highest degree of attention, for a long list of the twelve precious stones is given to show of what materials this part of structure is made. This list of jewels, to be sure, is one of the most debated issues in this visionary account. Attempts have been made to relate this list to cosmological, mythological, or astrological background of John's days so to decode its meaning. But since this issue bears no direct relevance to the aim of this thesis, no space will be given to it. For a comprehensive and conclusive (it seems) discussion of this issue, see W. W. Reader, "The Twelve Jewels of Revelation 21:19-20: Tradition History and Modern Interpretations," *JBL* 100 (1981), 433-57.

imagery of city in Ezekiel are the restored people, a people who were of adultery, worshipping all sorts of idols and gods in the temple which resulted them in exile (Ezek 43:6-9; cf. Ezek 8-11). But as the holiness of Yahweh, symbolized by the plan of a restored temple (Ezek 40-42), revealed to them, they will be ashamed of what they had done (Ezek 43:10-11) and turn their hearts to the Lord (cf. Ezek 36:26-27).¹⁴⁰ In a word, the people of Ezekiel's restoration program include not all Israelites but the true covenant people who manifest their loyalty to Yahweh by observing "the entire plan and all its ordinances" (Ezek 43:11; cf. Deut 29-31). In contrast to the old adulterous people, the new people are theocentric in nature. Now, John indeed has made an enlargement of the symbolism of the city, but the extent of that enlargement is not without limitation. The twelve apostles of the lamb, the founders and the representatives of the NT church, in particular, are the boundary. In fact, John's defining the "citizen" of the new city as "the overcomer" (ὁ νικῶν, 21:7) clearly suggests that the characteristic of the restored people of Ezekiel is in John's mind. For the overcomer is described in the letters to the seven churches as the one who keeps his faith and loyalty to the Lord even to his/her death in all sorts of persecutions (Rev 2:7, 11, 17, 26; 3:5, 12, 21). The new city Jerusalem, thereby, symbolizes not all mankind but only the faithful ones.

Having answered the question concerning *Who*, it seems now a proper time to return to the unsettled question *When*, i.e., to which stage of the end time does the new Jerusalem belong? On this question, our above analysis has left us two options. These two options equally hold that the descending of the new Jerusalem signifies the arrival of the age of consummation, but they depart from one another when they come to the issue concerning the starting point of the age of consummation. For one maintains that the consummation begins with the first coming of Christ; while the other considers that the consummation is the age of eternity, ushered in by the second coming of Christ. These two ages of consummation, as noted earlier, lie equally in the future when one positions himself with the prophet Ezekiel. With temporal consideration, John's use of Ezekiel, thereby, does not help in determining which view is more pertinence than the other.

¹⁴⁰ So, Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 257.

But if we take what we have observed above into consideration, the mist begins to fade away. John's city, as noted, is not a place, but a faithful people, whose history begins with the twelve patriarchies and continues with the founders of the NT church. In John's days, this people, therefore, is the Church. From this perspective, the view seeing the age of consummation as the age of the Church is likely to be the case. In other words, the descending of the new Jerusalem signifies not the arrival of the eternal age, but the beginning of a new age which is characterized by the establishment of the Church.

This understanding of the new Jerusalem fits perfectly well in its context. For in this reading, the appearing of the evil doers outside of the city (21:8, 27; 22:15), the mentioning of the nations walking by the light of the city (21:24), and the emerging of the kings of the earth giving their glory to the city (21:24, 26) create no tension to the text. For, the people of God co-exist with the unbelievers in this church age. There is no need to cut this visionary account from its present place and paste it to another location so to make sense of it.¹⁴¹ Nor is struggle necessary to give a proper explanation to why there are evil doers, the nations and their kings in the age of eternity.¹⁴² The new Jerusalem is the Church, the lampstand in the right hand of the risen Christ (Rev 1:20), who in his earthly ministry instructed his disciples that

You are the light of the world. A city built on a hill cannot be hid. No one after lighting a lamp puts it under the bushel basket, but on the lampstand, and it gives light to all in the house. In the same way, let your light shine before others, so that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father in heaven (Matt 5:14-16).

This reading of the new Jerusalem, on the other hand, confirms what we observed in chapter 3 of this thesis, i.e., the visions of the book of Revelation are not chronological but recapitulative. For, although standing at the very end of the book, this vision of new Jerusalem reveals not the thing which will happen after all that has

¹⁴¹ Charles, *Revelation I*, xxviii.

¹⁴² Harrington (*Revelation*, 210-11), for example, explains that John's listing the evil doers in 21:8 comes from his pastoral concern. T. F. Glasson (*Revelation*, 120), on Revelation 21:24, says, "The prophets were thinking mainly of a future under the historical conditions of our present life. John makes use of their sublime visions, lifting them on to the eternal plane; and at times he retains words not entirely appropriate to this new setting." In a similar vein, Bauckham (*The Climax*, 310-15) explains that the mentioning of the nations in 21:4 has resulted from the author's effort to maintaining a consistent perspective, i.e., "the combination of particularism (reference to the covenant people) and universalism (reference to the nations)," which was established in 21:3.

been seen in the preceding visions, but the beauty, glory and blessing of a people, who have already been presented in a similar way earlier in the book (Rev 7:1-17).¹⁴³

Conclusion

In dealing with the relation of Revelation 21 to Ezekiel 40-48, the above examination confirms what has been recognized in the past scholarship, i.e., the Ezekiel passage is one of the main OT texts behind John's new Jerusalem account. But our scrutiny also shows that the depth of that influence had not been properly noted. Too often the claim of an allusion found between two texts is made only on the basis of verbal or conceptual parallelism, without recognizing that the visions of the two books are structured in a similar way. No attention has been given also to John's following Ezekiel's compositional technique, i.e., the use of reference remarks, which connect various visions into a network. In a word, as the only method John used to refer his readers to another work that he had in mind, allusion has not been taken seriously enough. This, as illustrated in the excursus, will result in a serious misunderstanding of John's way of using Ezekiel.

In addition to literary relation, John's use of Ezekiel 40-48 in Revelation 21 includes also a hermeneutical dimension. In the second part of the chapter, we learned that John not only parallels, historically and psychologically, with Ezekiel, but also adopts the hermeneutics of Ezekiel when a reinterpretation is needed as the history of revelation continues. This dimension has not been noticed in the past, but is crucial to the understanding of the book of Revelation. Much work on this is needed to be done, but that is beyond the limitation of this thesis. What I have

¹⁴³ The connections between Revelation 7 and 21 are many: (1) the mentioning of the twelve tribes of Israel and the heavy use of the number 12 in both accounts; (2) the identification of the people in both passages as overcomers (7:13-14; 21:7); (3) the use of the imagery of God's dwelling over these overcomers in the two texts (cf. the use of σκηνώ in 7:15 and 21:3); (4) the promise of no more suffering in general (7:16; 21:4) and the wiping off the tear in particular (cf. "καὶ ἔξαλείψει ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν" [7:17] with "καὶ ἔξαλείψει πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν" [21:4]); (5) the promise of giving of the water of life (7:17; 21:6, cf. also 22:1-2); and (6) the promise of granting the privilege to serve before the throne of God and the Lamb (7:9, 15; 22:3). The vision in Revelation 14:1-5 is probably an another account paralleling with Revelation 21, though the connections between them are not as many as that of the case between ch. 7 and ch. 21.

provided in this thesis are only a few examples. This understanding of John, in general, will indeed enhance our apprehension of the hermeneutic of the NT, but the case dealt with in this chapter, in particular, has provided a ground for further comparisons. How John's understanding of Ezekiel's city differs from that of the Qumran community, specifically, is an example of this.¹⁴⁴ This task, again, is beyond the limitation of this work and waiting to be done in the future.

To know *how* John uses Ezekiel 40-48 in his work will advance our understanding of his new city Jerusalem. In the third part of this chapter, the questions concerning *When*, *What*, and *Who* have been in turn dealt with. Our analysis clearly shows that John's new Jerusalem is the symbol of the NT church. This reading is first of all concurred with Ezekiel 40-48 from where the symbol comes and then attested by the book of Revelation itself. This reading, of course, is not a new one. Yet our investigation not only provides a ground for such claim, but at the same time manifests the problems of other readings. In terms of relevance, this understanding, among many others, is the most pertinent one to the first readers. Nothing will comfort those who were in suffering more than the truth that they are the city of God, having His glory (21:11, 23), seen in His sight as precious as gold and as jewels (21:18-21), and most of all having the privilege of enjoying His glorious presence among them (21:22).

¹⁴⁴ For a detailed analysis of the Qumran community's idea of the city Jerusalem, see C. Michael, "The Architecture of the New Jerusalem," in *The New Jerusalem Scroll from Qumran: A Comprehensive Reconstruction* (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1977), 70-112. See also, J. Licht, "An Ideal Town Plan from Qumran: The Description of the New Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal* 29 (1979), 45-59. For our present purpose, it is enough to point out that the designation of the city Jerusalem found in the New Jerusalem Scroll is different from Ezekiel's. For the main characteristic of the city of Ezekiel, namely, the separation of the Temple from the city, had not been followed by the community. As diagrammed by Michael (77), the temple is adjoined by the residential area and together they constituted the city land, a land that is enclosed by the city wall. As to the relationship between the Temple Scroll and Ezekiel 40-48, see, Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 1983); and J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985).

CHAPTER 5

The River of Life: The Use of Ezekiel 47:1-12 in Revelation 22:1-2

In the preceding chapter attention has been given to John's use of Ezekiel's model of the restored city Jerusalem (Ezek 48:30-35) in Revelation 21. The focus of this chapter now turns to John's use of the imagery of the river of life (Ezek 47:1-12) in Revelation 22:1-2, the imagery that is also found in Ezekiel's program of restoration. Like the preceding three chapters, this chapter is composed of three parts. In the first part the OT passage is examined. The investigations include a literary analysis and an "Old-in-Old" case study. The aim of the former task is to provide a proper background for our understanding of this OT passage and the latter is to offer a ground for comparison when the "Old-in-New" case, i.e., the use of Ezekiel 47 in Revelation 22, is also studied in the second part of the chapter. There, a probing of the literary relationship between the Old and the New Testament texts will be given first, which is followed by an analysis of the hermeneutical parallel between the two authors. Like the former three chapters, the implication of John's use of Ezekiel in this certain case for the understanding of Revelation will be deliberated in the third part of the chapter. We hope to show there that both John's river and tree equally symbolize God's salvation which begins with the forgiveness of sin and completes with the bestowment of eternal life.

W. Zimmerli's introductory comment on Ezekiel 47:1-12 serves well here, "We will be unable to understand what 47:1-12 is saying if beforehand we have not endeavored to clarify certain *elements of tradition presupposed by the passage*."¹ For a passage such as this, to identify the traditions lying behind it and to see how these traditions were put together is therefore crucial. But before we take up such tasks, a literary analysis of Ezekiel 47:1-12 will be given first so to provide a proper background for further investigation.

A literary analysis of Ezekiel 47:1-12

Ezekiel 47:1-12² falls in the beginning of the third section of chapters 40-48, if chapters 40-42, which concern the structure (or the "hardware") of the restored Temple, are seen as the first section, and chapters 43-46, which concern the rites (or the "software") of the new Temple, as the second section.³ Before this passage, the Temple, as well as its ritual procedures, were viewed as if it is under a microscope, for the measurement of the Temple is described in cubits (chs. 40-42). But after this

¹ *Ezekiel 2*, 510.

² The messenger formula of 47:13, כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ (Thus says the Lord God), and the contents of this passage distinguish these 12 verses as a literary unit.

³ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 327-8; Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 212-3. The nine chapters in view, according to S. S. Tuell (*The Law of the Temple in Ezekiel 40-48* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992], 18-20) are constructed in a chiasmic fashion:

40:1-4 Introduction

40:5-42:20 Survey of the Temple Complex

43:1-9 Return of the Divine כְּבוֹד

43:10-46:24 The Law of the Temple

47:1-12 The Course of the River of Life

47:13-48:29 Survey of Territorial Allotments and Borders

48:30-35 Conclusion

This construction serves well Tuell's purpose. That is, the Law of the Temple (43:10-46:24) stands in the center of the whole section, to which subject his book is devoted. His suggestion is also welcome by the present writer with a reservation. It is welcome because the construction highlights the parallelism between the "Return of the Divine כְּבוֹד" and "The Course of the River of Life," which sustains my argumentation in the following. The reservation, on the other hand, concerns the parallel between the introduction and conclusion. In Tuell's view, this parallel is made by the reappearance of the same theme, the city (p. 73-4). But this connection, however, is problematic. For, against its context (40:5ff.), the "כְּמִבְנֵי עִיר" (a construction like a city) of 40:2 refers most likely to the Temple, not to the city. For now, it is enough to note that the nine chapters, in his following detailed analysis, are divided by Tuell into three sections, which are largely similar to that of Zimmerli and of Allen.

account, the Temple is set within a larger perspective as if it is viewed through a telescope (47:13-48:35). This changing of vista is made possible by the vision shown to the prophet, in which the horizon of the readers is widened by the river as it flows from under the threshold of the Temple, running across the Jordan valley, and finally flowing into the Dead Sea. As a result, the concern of Yahweh's repossessing the Temple stressed in the preceding chapters is switched to the concern of the consequence of Yahweh's presence for the land outside the Temple.⁴

The passage in view is composed of two parts, verses 1-7 and 8-12. For these two parts equally start with the mention of the river flowing toward the east (vv. 1 and 8), and conclude with the same scene, the lining of the trees on both sides of the river.⁵ The first part concerns the vision *per se* (vv. 1-7), that is, what was seen by the prophet; and the second the explanation of it, which is given by the visionary guide (vv. 8-12). The first part begins with the emerging of the river, or more precisely, a tiny spring, and the way it runs within the Temple precinct (vv. 1-2). In a distance of a little more than a mile, the spring then grows into a mighty river after it wells out from the Temple. As characteristic of the book with the seer at times playing a role in the visions he sees,⁶ the prophet is made by the visionary guide to cross the river four times at a regular interval of one thousand cubits. Then the prophet is brought back to the bank of the river where he sees many trees on both sides of the river (vv. 3-7).

The exegetical problems in these seven verses lie less on the first part (vv. 1-2) and more on the second part (vv. 3-7). In particular, the issue here is how one fathoms the meaning of the fourfold measuring of the river and the "awkward" question asked by the visionary guide when everything has been shown to the prophet: וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הֲרָאִיתָ בֶּן-אָדָם (v. 6, And he said to me, have you seen this, son of man?). Of the fourfold measuring, Zimmerli thinks that, although the number four, in the book of Ezekiel, is the number for completeness or totality,⁷ this figure

⁴ Hals, *Ezekiel*, 338.

⁵ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 277; Hals, *Ezekiel*, 336-37.

⁶ W. Zimmerli, "The special Form- and Traditio-Historical character of Ezekiel's prophecy," *VT* 15 (1965), 518. Such characteristic is made clear when he is compared with the other major classical prophets.

⁷ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 509, 512; see also his *Ezekiel 1*, 120.

here is much more in the background. "This fourfold measuring has no deeper significance for what the section is saying."⁸ The point of this vision lies in its fast growing power which "at first sight is so insignificant."⁹ This observation is rather accurate if one's sight is confined to this visionary account. The key to unlock the meaning of the fourfold measuring, I suggest, is to be found in that "awkward" question. Many commentators have made reference to Ezekiel 8:12, 15, and 17 when they came to Ezekiel 47:6, because in those three instances the same question is also asked with identical wording.¹⁰ But few have noticed that in 8:6 the question is also issued in a slightly different fashion: **וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי בֶּן-אָדָם הֲרָאָה אֵתָהּ**.¹¹ This fourfold questioning in chapter 8 is matched with the fourfold disclosing of the sins of Israelites acted in the Temple. That is to say, whenever a specific sort of idolatry is shown to the prophet, the question is asked. In such contexts, the purpose of the question is not to inquire *what* the prophet had seen, but to confirm the sins the people of God committed. From this perspective, the question in Ezekiel 47:6 (**הֲרָאִיתָ**) is better rendered as "have you seen this?" in the sense of confirmation, rather than "what have you seen?"

The parallelism between here and Ezekiel 8 is supported by the paired nature of the two visionary accounts (chs. 8-11 and 40-48), to which the two passages belong. First, both visionary accounts are equally set in an ecstatic context,¹² as 8:1-4 and 40:1-4 clearly indicate (cf. also 43:1-5).¹³ Second, the destination of the ecstatic transportation in both accounts is the same, namely, the Jerusalem Temple. Third, the logic behind the two accounts is reasonably coherent. In the former we see that the abominations of Israelites done in the Temple (ch. 8) lead to the falling of God's punishment upon his people (ch. 9) and in turn to the departure of God's glory from

⁸ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 509.

⁹ Ibid., 512. See also Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 582.

¹⁰ For example, Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 519.

¹¹ It is reasonable to suspect that this first appearing phrase, in which the second person pronoun is used, has been shortened when it is reused in the rest of the book. This means that the second person pronoun has been assimilated into a suffix when the same question is reissued.

¹² This connection has been discussed in chapter 4 of this thesis. For details, see there.

¹³ The terminological linkages of the visionary scenery of Ezek 40:1-4 can be traced not only to 8:1-4 but also to chapter 1; see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 1, 231-233. For the splitting of 8:1-4 into two so to preface the visionary complements in chs. 40-2 and 43-6, see Parunak, *Structural Studies in Ezekiel*, 509.

the Temple (ch. 10); while in the latter, the clear and unused Temple is first restored (chs. 40-2), which results in the returning of God' glory to the Temple (43:1-5), and the flowing of his blessing from the sanctuary where he re-dwells (47:1-7). The fourfold measuring plus the question, in the light of these parallelisms, are the prophet's intentional design which is aimed at making a sharp contrast between the sin of God's people and God's grace of forgiving, between God's judgment and his blessing, or in short, between the past evil and future restoration.¹⁴

This understanding of Ezekiel 47:3-7 is in fact supported by the text that follows (47:8-12), which is the explanation of the seen vision. For, in this section we learn firstly that the effects of this river are of two kinds (47:8-11). The first is healing, i.e., to turn the salty water into sweet,¹⁵ and the second is life-giving, i.e., to sustain the lives of every creature. These two effects, further, are stressed again in verse 12. For, in this verse, the trees grown on both sides of the river are said to have miraculous nature in yielding fruits each month for food and in producing leaves that have healing power. In other words, the dominant themes of 47:8-12 are healing and life-giving, the two basic elements that not only the entire restoration program but the vision of river of life (47:1-12) are about.

The traditions in Ezekiel 47:1-12¹⁶

Bearing what we have said above in mind, attention is now turned to the traditions that lie behind Ezekiel 47:1-12. Two particular traditions will be examined

¹⁴ R. M. Hals' observation is proper to note here. He suggests that the features of the book of Ezekiel can be characterized "as the undoing of a past evil situation and as the expression of a continuity in style with Yahweh's past acts" (*Ezekiel*, 282; see also 288). If his observation is correct, we here have one more example in which both features emerge at the same time.

¹⁵ Notice that the verb used in 47:8, 9, רפא, often translated as "to turn to sweet," is literally "to heal" or "to cure."

¹⁶ Ezekiel 47:1-12 played an interesting role in history. According to W. R. Farmer, this passage may be the one that made the sect of Qumran to settle their community at that particular spot. For, besides economic, political, and other considerations, the prediction in this passage that the salty water of the Dead Sea will one day turn into sweet, was probably perceived by this Qumran community as the very sign of the coming of the Lord, the event that this sect would not, by any chance, miss ("The Geography of Ezekiel's River of Life," *BA* 19 [1956], 21-2). G. A. Cooke, on the other hand, suggests that the rite of sprinkling of the holy water over the people performed by Roman and Sarum office during the Paschal season found its root in this passage, especially verses 2 and 9 (*Ezekiel*, 517). Though historically interesting, our concern here, however, is not the influence of this passage, but the traditions that constitute it.

in turn. The first is the tradition of the land and the second the tradition of the river of life, the one that dominates the vision.

Earlier we already noticed that the vision of the river has shifted the concerns of the text from the Temple itself to the relation between the Temple and the land. This latter concern, to be sure, is not an innovation of Ezekiel,¹⁷ but was deeply rooted in the past. Already in the beginning of the nation Israel, when Yahweh first presented himself to Abram, land is a promised gift (Gen 12:1, 7; 13:15; 24:7; see also Ezek 20:28, 42; 33:24). The patriarchal history in the Pentateuch and the so-called Deuteronomistic works (Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings), from this perspective, are the resounding of that theme: the entering and possessing the land, and the loss of it which was the result of the breaking of the covenant.¹⁸ In short, to possess the land signifies the blessing of God and his presence among them, and to lose the land, or to be exiled from it, is the sign of falling from God's grace and his forsaking his people. This latter and negative aspect, to be sure, has already been picked up by Ezekiel in the earlier part of his book (e.g., 5:1-10; 9:9; 12:1-16; 19:1-9; 22:1-16). Now, in the program of restoration, the positive aspect emerges (47:13-48:35). The people are promised to possess the land again if they repent (43:10-11).¹⁹ And if they do so, they are also promised that they will experience God's grace of forgiveness which, as noted earlier, is symbolically manifested in the act of fourfold fathoming the depth of the river (47:1-7). In this respect the vision of the river, which connects the Temple and the land, is a reaffirmation of one of the key traditions embedded in the remote past.

But where does the image of river come from?²⁰ Isaiah 8:5-8 has been proposed as a candidate.²¹ There, an oracle is issued against the people of Judah who despised the gentle waters of Shiloah but rejoiced²² over Rezin and the son of

¹⁷ For a concise summary of the theology of the land in Ezekiel, see W. Janzen, "Land," in *ABD* 4, 149.

¹⁸ B. L. Bandstra, "Land," in *ISBE* 3, 71.

¹⁹ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 257.

²⁰ The historicity of the river, i.e., "Was there a physical river in Ezekiel's days flowing from the Temple mount?" is an interesting issue, but it bears little reference to our understanding of the vision in question (see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 510 for a discussion on the historicity of the river). For, the prophet's program in general and the vision in view in particular concern less the historical and geographical situations of the prophet's days, but more the presenting of an idea.

²¹ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 510-1.

Remaliah. The gentle water of Shiloah is a metaphor for God's provision. Rezin and the son of Remaliah, on the other hand, are the representatives of earthly power of that time. The issue, hence, is "God or Assyria?"²³ To such rebellion, a judgment is predicted, in which a mighty river, a metaphor for the armies of Assyria upon whom Judea relied, will overflow its bank, rushing into Judah and bringing destruction (vv. 7-8). The picture presented there, accordingly, is that "the insignificant one, the one despised by the people, proves to be the one who has even the great waters under his control."²⁴ In this sense, this passage, according to Zimmerli, provides the background for Ezekiel 47:1-12.²⁵ This connection, nevertheless, is pertinent only when the fourfold measuring of the river (vv. 3-5) is understood as the growth of the river from a "small and slight, almost despicable,"²⁶ spring to a mighty river. But our above analysis had already shown that the point there is not the rapid growing of the river, but the undoing of the past evil shown in chapter 8. This proposal, consequently, is dismissed.

Psalm 46:5[4] has also been proposed as a candidate,²⁷ where the text reads: נָהָר פִּלְגָיו יִשְׂמְחוּ עִיר־אֱלֹהִים קֹדֶשׁ מִשְׁכְּנֵי עֲלִיִּין (There is a river whose streams make glad the city of God, the holy habitation of the Most High). This proposal, however, is probably based on three points. First, in the psalm the river and its streams are connected with the city of God. Second, the imagery there, as that of Ezekiel 47, is a reflection of the river and its four streams of the account of Eden (Gen 2:10-14).²⁸ Third, this psalm is one of the so-called Zion psalms in which the "ancient mythographic imagery serves to deepen profoundly the status of the holy city of Jerusalem,"²⁹ an eminent theme also seen in Ezekiel 40-48.

²² The term, מְשׁוֹשׁ (rejoice), has been a center of debate. But for our concern here, i.e., a contrast between the gentle waters of Shiloah and the mighty Euphrates, that issue bears little relevance. For details, see J. N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah 1-39* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 225-6.

²³ A title assigned to Isaiah 7:1-12:6 by Oswalt, see l.c., 192.

²⁴ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 511.

²⁵ Ibid., 510-1.

²⁶ Ibid., 512.

²⁷ E. g., Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 512; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 518; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 583; Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, 231.

²⁸ See, e.g., P. C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50* (Waco: Word Books, 1983), 344; and A. Weiser, *The Psalm*, trans., H. Hartwell (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 370.

²⁹ M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*. Reprinted with corrections (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 369.

But in asserting that the psalm is the source of Ezekiel 47:1-12, one has to face the following difficulties. The context of Psalm 46, first, is that of taking refuge in the city of God in time of trouble, which is far from the picture presented in Ezekiel 47:1-12.³⁰ Second, though the subject to be made glad has been identified (i.e., the city of God), the place from where the river springs is not indicated. In other words, Psalm 46 indeed provides us a picture of a river flowing within the city of God, but it does not relate its origin. The inappropriateness of this proposal is further seen in the fact that the city and the Temple in Ezekiel 40-48 are intentionally made to be geographically separated (Ezek 40:2; 45:1-6; 48:8-20),³¹ a perspective dominating the whole program but not found in Psalm 46.

In considering all these, i.e., both similarities and dissimilarities, it seems fair to say that psalm 46 provides only an example in which the tradition of Eden is reflected and merged with the tradition of Zion/Jerusalem, but to identify Psalm 46 as the source of Ezekiel 47 is problematic. The most we can say is that with different purpose and points, the Eden tradition has been reflected in both Psalm 46 and Ezekiel 47.

How then is Genesis 2, the passage that had long been proposed as one of the sources behind the prophet's vision of the river?³² At the outset, it is clear that the two accounts are thematically related. First, Genesis 2 presents the garden Eden as a place of abundance of water. Not only is the water of its river sufficient for the need of the garden, but the remains of the water are enough to be divided into four branches, which in turn become the rivers of the world (Gen 2:10-14). The world, as a result, lives on the superfluity of the wealth of the Garden and receives the benefit from it. Second, in conjunction with the imagery of plenty of water is the picture of

³⁰ The imageries of this verse, "river" and its "streams," according to Craigie (*Psalms 1-50*, 344), are reminiscent of Canaanite mythology, in which the high god El throned at the head of two streams located at a high mount. The using of such mythical images and the combining them with Yahweh the host, the God of Jacob (v. 8) are aimed at making a sharp contrast between El and Yahweh. For, while the mountains of El may slide (מוֹרֵט, v. 3) into the seas, God's city will not slip (מוֹרֵט, v. 6).

³¹ This geographical separation is in fact a reflection of the dominate theme of the whole vision (chs. 40-8), i.e., the separation of the holy from the profane (see, e.g., 43:6-12; 44:17-27).

³² E.g., Cooke (*Ezekiel*, 520), Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*, 514), Levenson (*Theology*, 28-29), Eichrodt (*Ezekiel*, 583) and Fishbane (*Biblical Interpretation*, 370 note 131). But unfortunately, none has given a detailed treatment to support such a claim.

the flourishing of all kinds of trees in the Garden, which are pleasant to the sight and good for food (Gen 2:9a, 16). These two key imageries are well reflected in Ezekiel 47:1-12.³³ Besides these thematic parallelisms, the connection between the two accounts can also be seen in the similarity of words.

Case E47-1 (Gen 2:9a in Ezek 47:12)

Ezek 47:12	Gen 2:9a
... וְעֵלָה ... כָּל-עֵץ-מֵאֲכָל לֹא-יָבֹול עָלָהוּ ... וְהָיוּ כִרְיוֹ לְמֵאֲכָל וְעָלָהוּ לְחֵרוּפָה	וַיֵּצֵא יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִן-הָאֲדָמָה כָּל-עֵץ נֹחֵד לְמִרְאָה וְטוֹב לְמֵאֲכָל

That the trees are for food in Genesis 2 finds parallelism in Ezekiel 47, as the reappearing of the term, לְמֵאֲכָל, as well as מֵאֲכָל, suggested. In general the noun, מֵאֲכָל, means food, meat, or fruit, but often times it is used of "more dainty foods or delicacies."³⁴ On many occasions, however, this term alone could mean "for food" or "as food" (e.g., Lev 19:23; Psa 44:12, 74:14, 79:2; Isa 62:8). There is no difficulty, therefore, to see מֵאֲכָל (Ezek 47:12) as a reflection of the לְמֵאֲכָל of Genesis 2:9a.

In the case of *lamed* (ל) of purpose, the combination, לְמֵאֲכָל, on the other hand, means "for food" or "as food." This specific form, except the one in Ezekiel 47:12, is found 7 times in the OT. Each of these seven occurrences clearly falls into one of the two opposite contexts: of blessing (Gen 2:9, 3:6) or of curse (Deu 28:26; Jer 7:33, 16:4, 19:7, 34:20). In the former group the trees in particular are said to be given as food, while in the latter the corpses of Israelites are said to be food for the birds of the air and the beasts of the field. In terms of context, Ezekiel 47:12 obviously resembles Genesis.

³³ In addition to these immediate points of connection, the garden Eden account (Gen 2-3) and the prophet's restoration program (Ezek 40-48) are also paralleled in the following points which sustain our claim here. (1) Both Genesis 2-3 and Ezekiel 40-48 present a picture of a kingdom which is featured in its theocentricity. (2) In the two theocentric kingdoms, God's actions are the same. First, as what we have seen here, God has made the garden Eden, as well as the restored land, a place of blessing. Second, besides being a benefactor, God also acted as a king and a judge in both passages, for he issued not only ordinances and regulations (Gen 2:16-17; Ezek 44:17-46:24) but also sentences (Gen 3:14-19; Ezek 44:6-16). (3) The features of the garden Eden, such as trees and cherubim, have been reflected in the architectural details of Ezekiel's restored Temple (Ezek 40:16, 26, 31, 37; 41:18-26).

³⁴ J. B. Scott, "אֲכָל," *TWOT* I, 39-40.

The connection between Ezekiel 47 and Genesis 2, finally, is also seen in the echoing of a specific grammatical format. Genesis 2:9a cited above says that the trees are not only good for food (לִמְאֹכַל) but also pleasant to the sight (לְמִרְאָה). This double use of *lamed* of purpose finds echo in Ezekiel 47:12c, where the fruits of the trees are said for food (לִמְאֹכַל) and the leaves for healing (לְחִירוּפָה). Allen's observation that "the block of vv 8-11 [Ezek 47] and the statement of v 12 both culminate in cases of *lamed* of purpose ('for salt'/'for food...for healing')"³⁵ advances the probability of our claim above.

In sum, the above examinations demonstrate two things. First, the literary function of the vision of Ezekiel 47:1-12 affirms a tradition rooted in the very beginning of the nation of Israel, where the possession of the land was promised. Second, the linkages found between Genesis 2 and Ezekiel 47:1-12 are many. These include the appearing of the two key themes, the verbal connections, and the using of a particular grammatical format. These linkages therefore suggest a case of allusion made by the prophet to Genesis 2. This observation is by no means a new one, but our examinations have shown how such an allusion was made.

That the prophet has made an allusion in Ezekiel 47 to Genesis 2 is what we have seen above, but how do we know that this is the way John understood it. This question, surely, cannot properly be answered until the "Old-in-New" case, i.e., the use of Ezekiel 47 in Revelation 22, is examined, but a couple of considerations given below will be sufficient for now.

First, in dealing with the theme of restoration, the prophet, already in Ezekiel 36:35, gave his readers a vignette in which the people of Israel³⁶ wonder at Yahweh's renewal work on the land, admiring, "This land that was desolate has become like the garden of Eden; and the waste and desolate and ruined towns are now inhabited and fortified." In this verse, then, the prophet has explicitly compared the expected renewed land to the first paradise.³⁷ This, to John, whose thorough familiarity with

³⁵ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 277.

³⁶ For the reading of subject of the admiration not as the passersby of verse 35 but as the people of Israel, see Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, 732.

³⁷ See Isa 51:3 for a similar comparison.

the OT in general and with the book of Ezekiel in particular are attested in recent studies, would certainly suggest a reading of Ezekiel 47:1-12 with the Eden narrative.

Second, besides this explicit comparison of the future restored land with the garden Eden, the conception of the future paradise in the days of John also suggests that the author of Revelation would have read the Ezekielian account with the Eden account. The following three pieces of literature will attest this.

First, in handling the subject of end time, the *Testament of Levi* 18:10-11 reads,

"And he [the priestly Messiah] shall open the gates of paradise;
he shall remove the sword that has threatened since Adam,
and he will grant to the saints to eat of the tree of life.
The Spirit of holiness shall be upon them."³⁸

Second, in dealing with the issue concerning the future salvation, the *Testament of Dan* 5:11-12 reads,

"And he [God] shall take from Beliar the captives, the souls of the saints;
and he shall turn the hearts of the disobedient ones to the Lord,
and grant eternal peace to those who call upon him.
And the saints shall refresh themselves in Eden;
the righteous shall rejoice in the New Jerusalem,
which shall be eternally for the glorification of God."³⁹

Third, in his visionary journey, Enoch, led by his angelic guide, came to a place where he saw seven dignified mountains which are surrounded by fragrant trees. Yet among these trees, he saw one particular tree, whose fragrance is distinguished from all others and whose leaves, flowers, and wood would never wither forever (*1 Enoch* 24:1-4).⁴⁰ On Enoch's request, then, Michael, the chief of the revered angels who was with Enoch, explained,

"As for this fragrant tree, not a single human being has the authority to touch it until the great judgment, when he shall take vengeance on all and conclude (everything) forever. This is for the righteous and the pious. And the elect will be presented with its fruit for life." (*1 Enoch* 24: 4-5b)⁴¹

³⁸ The translation is H. C. Kee's, taken from *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1. ed. J. H. Charlesworth, 795. According to Kee, the date of the Testament in view is around the second century B.C. (see 777-78).

³⁹ Ibid., 809-10.

⁴⁰ Also known as Ethiopic Apocalypse of Enoch.

⁴¹ The translation is E. Isaac's, taken from *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1., 26. According to Isaac, the book is composed between second century B.C. to first century A.D. (see

These three piece of Pseudepigraphic works,⁴² therefore, suggest that, concerning the idea of end time, the Jews of John's days thought that the Paradise of the end-time will be like, or even identical with, the first Paradise. This ideology would surely encourage John to take the Eden story as the background for Ezekiel 47:1-12. But this is not all. In *1 Enoch* cited above, we learn that, besides its fragrance, the tree of life is also featured with its long-lasting life, for "its leaves, its flowers, and its wood would never wither forever" (24:4). This characteristic, to be sure, is not found in Genesis account but is a feature of Ezekiel's trees. So, by attributing this feature to the tree of life, the author of *1 Enoch*, it seems to me, has linked Ezekiel 47 with Genesis 2. If this is the case, then, it would surely enhance the probability of the point that I intend to make here, i.e., John would have done the same thing when he came to the same eschatological issue.

Having seen how John read Ezekiel 47 with Genesis 2, what remains to be addressed in this part of the chapter is the difference between the two accounts. In comparison with Genesis 2, one element is new in Ezekiel 47, healing. This new element firstly emerges in verse 8 where the salty water of the Dead Sea is said to turn to sweet (וְנִרְפָּאֵהוּ),⁴³ literally, to be healed) as the river flows into it. Then in verse 12 the same element is underlined in the mentioning of the healing power (לְתִרְוָפָה)⁴⁴ of the leaves of the trees. This new theme, to be sure, poses no difficulty to our case here, for this new element is logically required if one intends to speak of restoration. In short, no healing, no restoration. This new element, in fact, is a further example of "undoing the past evil," a technique used by Ezekiel as a way to formulate his restoration programme.

In terms of hermeneutics, the adding of this new theme indicates that the adopted tradition has been reinterpreted by the prophet. In other words, while employing the tradition of Eden in his program, the prophet has redefined it. He

pages 6-7).

⁴² These three Pseudepigraphic works are referred to by J. Jeremais ("παράδεισος," *TDNT* 5:767, note 16).

⁴³ Or וְנִרְפָּאֵהוּ in Qere.

⁴⁴ The root of תִּרְוָפָה is רָפָה, which, according to *BDB* (930), equates with רָפָא, the term used in 47:8 for healing. See also Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 524.

follows the tradition by presenting it as a symbol of God's abundant provision, yet at the same time adds to it a new element, thus making it an image suitable for his program. The reason for him to make such a reinterpretation is not hard to find. The tradition the prophet resorted to is one that speaks of the situation of pre-Fall era, during which time no harm had been done to the relation between God and men, and therefore no emendation was necessary. Obviously a tradition of this sort is not perfectly fitted for a program which is aimed at restoration. Reinterpretation, hence, is done in order to make the adopted tradition fit to the program.

The implication of the above first observation is that the aim of the prophet's restoration program is to restore the covenantal relationship between God and His people. The sins (Ezek 8) that break the covenant are now annulled by the water flowing from the Temple (47:1-7). The promised land, as a result, will again be possessed in the new era. The promised restoration, according to the second observation, is an Edenic kind of restoration. In other words, the Eden portrayed in Genesis 2 has been employed by the prophet here as a prototype for his program of restoration.⁴⁵ The symbolism of Eden as a place of divine blessing and beneficence is projected by the prophet into future. In that new era God's blessing, as before, will be once again abundance. In the prophet's vision, the lost paradise is indeed regained.

Summary

The above analysis shows that the vision in view is not purely an innovation of the prophet but a work laden with traditions. We see first of all the tradition of the land and then the tradition of the Eden, which have been blended, perfectly, into his vision. As to the later tradition, we learn that by (1) the correspondence of the two major themes (i.e., the river and trees), (2) verbal connections, and (3) by the following of a grammatical structure (the double use of *lamed* of purpose), the prophet has made an allusion to Genesis 2.

⁴⁵ A "typology of a spatial nature" is the term used by M. Fishbane for this case. To this case, he says, "the new Temple, like the old [Eden], will be a font of blessing for Israel" (*Biblical Interpretation*, 370).

In dealing with the tradition of Eden, the above analysis also shows that though laden with traditions, the vision in question also includes a new element which is not found in its sources. That new element, i.e., healing, is logically required by the nature of the program. For a tradition presenting the state of the world before the Fall is not totally fitted for a world which needs to be healed. A reinterpretation, as a result, is called for. To the prophet who suffered the exile, the direct result of the sins committed by his people,⁴⁶ it is not at all difficult for him to parallel himself and the exiles with Adam and Eve (cf. Gen 3:22-4) and think of restoration as a returning to the state before the Fall.

Part Two: The Examination of the New Testament passage

A Case of Allusion⁴⁷

With a note of emphasis (ἐδείξεν, 22:1),⁴⁸ John in Revelation 22:1-2 continues to reveal to his readers one more characteristic of the city new Jerusalem: the flowing of the river of life in the city.⁴⁹ This picture, as observed by many,⁵⁰ is

⁴⁶ The examples for this are many, especially in chs. 1-24. For a detailed discussion of this, see Paul Joyce, *Divine Initiative and Human Response in Ezekiel* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 33-77.

⁴⁷ Since Ezekiel 47:1-12 belongs to the prophet's restoration program (Ezek 40-48) and since Revelation 22:1-2 is a part of John's vision of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21:9-22:9), what we have said in the preceding chapter about the structural parallelism between the visions of the two books is also true to this case. In other words, the case of allusion found between these two passages is sustained not only by the evidence of the thematic and verbal parallelisms (see below), but also by that structural parallelism. For succinctness, we will not here repeat what has been said before, except to note that that structural parallelism yields the strongest support to this case of allusion.

⁴⁸ This verb, δείκνυμι, is characteristic of the book of Revelation. For in its eight occurrences in the book (1:1; 4:1; 17:1; 21:9, 10; 22:1, 6, 8), it exclusively refers to the act of divine revelation (see Charles, *Revelation I*, 6).

⁴⁹ In syntax, the initial phrase of Revelation 22:2, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς, has long been a problem to the readers of the book. Some (e.g., Charles [*Revelation II*, 176] and RSV), join this phrase with verse 1, thus rendering verse 1-2a as "he showed me a river ... in the midst of the street thereof." The picture, therefore, is that the river flows in the center of the street of the city. Others (e.g., Swete [*The Apocalypse*, 299] and KJV) suggest that the phrase should go with what follows, thus rendering v. 2 as "In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life ..." This reading, though different from the former one, presents, however, the same picture: "a river flowing through the broad street which interests the city, a row of trees being on either bank" (Swete, 299). Agreeing with Swete, É. Delebecque ("Où situer l'Arbre de vie dans la Jérusalem céleste? Note sur Apocalypse XXII, 2," *RevThom* 88 [1988], 124-30), however, proposes that the grammatical structure of v. 2a, i.e., ἐν μέσῳ followed by two genitives connected with καὶ, is best understood as "between A and B." He, hence, renders v. 2a "Au milieu, entre son

taken from Ezekiel 47:1-12. First, the river is named "the river of water of life" (ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς, v. 1), which reflects perfectly well the feature of the river of Ezekiel 47.⁵¹ For, not only does Ezekiel's river sustain the life of very living creature and swarm all kinds of fish (47:9-10), but it also grows many trees (47:7, 12). Second, John and Ezekiel's rivers are issued from the same source, i.e., the presence of God. In Ezekiel's vision the river issues from the restored Temple, while in John's vision, his river is coming from the throne of God and of the Lamb (v. 1), which has taken the place of the Temple (cf. 21:22 with 22:3). Third, the connection between the two passages in view is clearly seen in the case study given below, which concerns particularly the use of Ezekiel 47:12 in Revelation 22:2.

Case R22-1 (Ezek 47:12 in Rev 22:2)

Rev 22:2	Ezek 47:12 (LXX) ⁵²	Ezek 47:12 (MT)
ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκείθεν ξύλον ζωῆς ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα, κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀποδιδούν τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν.	καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβήσεται ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους αὐτοῦ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πᾶν ξύλον βρώσιμον οὐ μὴ παλαιωθῇ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς καινότητος αὐτοῦ πρωτοβολήσῃ διότι τὰ ὕδατα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ταῦτα ἐκπορεύεται καὶ ἔσται ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν εἰς βρώσιν καὶ ἀνάβασις αὐτῶν εἰς ὑγίειαν	וְעַל-הַנַּחַל יַעֲלֶה עֵלֶי שֶׁפָּחוּ מִזֶּה וּמִזֶּה כָּל-עֵץ מֵאֵכָל לֹא-יָבֹל עָלָיו וְלֹא-יִתֵּם פִּרְיוֹ לְחֹדֶשׁ יִבְרַךְ כִּי מִמֶּיךָ מִן-הַמִּקְדָּשׁ הַזֶּה יוֹצְאִים וְהָיוּ וְהָיָה פִּרְיוֹ לְמֵאֵכָל וְעָלָיו לְתַרְפוּפָה

esplande et le fleuve, en venant d'ici et en venant de la, un Bois de vie" (129). As a result, the picture is that the street and the river run side by side. Grammatically speaking, all these readings are possible, but in view of the influence of Ezek 47:12 on this particular Revelation text, of which connection will be made clear below, Charles's understanding is probably the one to follow.

⁵⁰ E.g., Ozanne (*The Influence*, 149-51); Trudinger (*The Text*, 93); Vogelgesang (*The Interpretation*, 41-3; 108-9).

⁵¹ The issue concerning the symbolism of John's river of life will be discussed later. For now, it is enough to note that the title John assigned to the river reflects well the feature of Ezekiel's river.

⁵² At various points the LXX differs from the MT. (1) It reads עליו (its leaf) as עליי, so renders ἐπ' αὐτοῦ. (2) The חודשיו (according to the month) is misunderstood as καινότητος αὐτοῦ (literally, the newness of it, thus the first fruit of it). (3) The LXX reads ועליו (its leaf) as ועלה (to come up, ascend, mount), so renders ἀνάβασις αὐτῶν (its ascending). John here obviously does not follow the LXX. For beside the second and the third points listed above, he also does not follow the LXX's "ἐνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν" and "ὑγίειαν."

With three verbal similarities, Revelation 22:2 parallels with Ezekiel 47:12. (1) The phrase, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν,⁵³ corresponds to מִזֶּה וּמִזֶּה,⁵⁴ which appears not only here (47:12) but also in 47:7 where the lining up of the trees on both sides of the river is first mentioned.⁵⁵ (2) "κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀποδίδουν τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ" is a free rendering for לְחֹדֶשׁ יָבִיבָר. It is therefore not a surprise to see that the tree of life is said to yield twelve kinds of fruit (καρποὺς δώδεκα). Probably this specification of the number twelve is intentionally made, for that number is the one that dominates the whole visionary account and the one that symbolizes the people of God. (3) "τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν" agrees with "וְעֵלְהוּ לְתִרְוָפָה."

In sum, the correspondence of themes and words found between the two visionary accounts suggests a case of allusion, i.e., John in Revelation 22:1-2 has made an allusion to Ezekiel 47:1-12. But how do we deal with the differences between these two accounts? Three discrepancies are found important and relevant to the goal of this thesis.⁵⁶ The first is the discrepancy of the number of the trees in the two accounts, i.e., while Ezekiel sees many trees lining up on each side of the river (רַב מְאֹד, 47:7; כָּל-עֵץ-מֵאֲכָל, 12), John visions only one tree (ξύλον ζῶης, 22:2). This difference, however, is not difficult to explain. In Ezekiel 47:7 and 12, the term for "trees" is עֵץ (not עֵצִים), which in its context is to be understood as collective plural.⁵⁷ John's narrating "a tree," in this regard, is probably done in the

⁵³ The phrase as it stands appears only here in the NT. In John 18:19 ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν (also a hapax legomenon) is used to mean the same idea, on the one side and on the other side.

⁵⁴ This phrase appears over ten times in the OT (Exo 17:12, 26:13, 32:15, 38:15; Jos 8:33; 1Ki 10:19, 20; 2Ch 9:18, 19; Ezek 45:7, 47:7, 12, 48:21). In BDB it is rendered as "on one side and on the other side" (262).

⁵⁵ Ezekiel 47:7 and 12, as noted earlier, conclude, respectively, the first and the second sections of Ezekiel's vision (vv. 1-7; 8-12). In other words, the point of emphasis in Ezekiel's vision is the trees which yield fruits for food and leaves for healing. John's vision, in this regard, reflects well the characteristic of Ezekiel's vision.

⁵⁶ Vogelgesang (*The Interpretation*, 108) observes also another point of difference: Ezekiel's river is in a rural nature setting, whereas John's is in an urban setting. This observation, on the surface, is correct. But this change, however, does not necessarily mean that a reinterpretation is involved. For, just as Ezekiel's river flowing within the boundary of the land of Israel (47:13-20, especially v. 18), so is John's river which flows within the city, the symbol John used for the new people of God. This means that, although the settings in the two accounts are different, both authors agree that God's grace of restoration, symbolized by the river, is not without limit. His people, in particular, is that limitation. In dealing with the changes found between two related texts, one is to distinguish the changes which are due to the different visionary settings used by the two authors from the changes which are made to signify the reinterpretation. Vogelgesang's observation mentioned here is an example of the former category; John's adding the twelve apostles to the model of Ezekiel's city, discussed earlier in chapter 4 of the thesis, is an example of the latter category.

same manner.⁵⁸ "On both sides of the river are trees of life," is hence the sense of the text. The more significant difference between the two texts, however, is John's specification of the trees as *the tree of life*.⁵⁹ On the surface, this designation seems to be employed to reflect the characteristic of the trees of Ezekiel, but a closer look will show that this specification is not done for this reason only.

Besides 22:2 the tree of life (τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς) is found three times in the book of Revelation.⁶⁰ It first appears in 2:7 where it is said to be a gift to the one who conquers. Notice that the tree of life there is specified as the one in the paradise of God,⁶¹ the one standing in the middle of the garden Eden (Gen 2:9b) and being guarded by the cherubim after the Fall so that the first couple would not have a chance to eat from it and become immortal (Gen 3:22-4).⁶² The granting of the privilege to eat from the tree of life, therefore, means the reopening of the access to the tree and consequently the bestowing of the eternal life.⁶³ This tree of life is then found in 22:14, "Blessed are those who wash their robes, so that they will have the right to the tree of life and may enter the city by the gates." The ones who wash their robes, according to 7:14, are the followers of Jesus who, like their master, overcome the persecution of the world by suffering.⁶⁴ The picture presented in 22:14, accordingly, is similar to the one in 2:7, i.e., the conquerors are granted the tree of life and consequently eternal life. The tree of life appears the last time in 22:19, "if anyone takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God will take away

⁵⁷ Two things need to be noted here. (1) The collective use of עץ in Ezekiel 47:7 and 12 is in accord with Genesis 2:9a, the passage Ezekiel 47:12 resorted to, where עץ is also used in the same way. (2) This collective use of עץ has been carried out in the entire vision of the river of life. For, the suffixes of the two terms "עֲצֵיהֶן" and "פְּרִיָּהֶן" (their leaves and their fruits, 47:12) are equally third person singular, which refer to the "trees."

⁵⁸ So Charles (*Revelation II*, 176), Swete (*The Apocalypse*, 299), Roloff (*Revelation*, 246); Beale (*Revelation*, 1106) and many others.

⁵⁹ The anarthrous ξύλον ζωῆς could simply mean "living tree" (Ozanne, *The Influence*, 151). But in view of the connection between the tree of life and the city in Revelation 22:14 and 19 (where τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς is used), there is no difficulty of any sort to take it as the equivalent of τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς.

⁶⁰ In the NT, the term, the tree of life, is found only in Revelation.

⁶¹ For the notion of the tree of life in the paradise of God as an eschatological gift in the apocalyptic literature of the NT period, see *T. Levi* 18:10f; 4 *Ezra* 8:52.

⁶² For the symbolism of the tree of life as immortality, see B. S. Childs, "Tree of Knowledge, Tree of Life," in *IDB* 4:695-7; H. N. Wallace, "Tree of Knowledge and Tree of Life," in *ABD* 6:656-60.

⁶³ So, e.g., Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 30; Mounce, *Revelation*, 90; Beasley-Murray *Revelation*, 80.

⁶⁴ For a detailed treatment on the issue concerning the saints as a messianic army portrayed in Revelation 7, see Bauckham, *The Climax*, 215-29.

that person's share in the tree of life and in the holy city, which are described in this book." Here, the theme is presented in an opposite way, i.e., no obedience, no access to the tree of life. To summarize, the tree of life has been clearly defined by John in the beginning of the book, and that definition is re-inforced at the end of the book by a blessing saying and a curse saying.

Now in 22:1-2, as observed above, John has used the river of life of Ezekiel 47 as a pattern to formulate his vision, but in doing so, one thing needs to be specified, i.e., the trees. For the picture presented in Ezekiel 47, as seen earlier, is taken from Genesis 2:9a, where the trees grown from the earth are common trees, not the one that interested John, i.e., the tree of life which is specified in the second half of Genesis 2:9. In other words, in order to be coherent with what he has said about the tree of life elsewhere in the book, John is required to make such a specification. The reason for John to make such a specification, hence, is not merely that that designation reflects well the characteristic of the trees of Ezekiel. The reason for John to do so is also due to a particular perspective that he has.

The implication of this specification is twofold. First, in his specification of the trees as the tree of life, a hint of John's awareness of the relation of Ezekiel 47 to Genesis 2 is readily observable.⁶⁵ Second, in terms of hermeneutic, this specification suggests John's reinterpretation. As noted earlier, Ezekiel's restoration program is indeed characterized by its Edenic nature. But that Edenic nature is limited to the aspect of God's generously providing food for men. The prophet's program of restoration, in this respect, is this-worldly in nature.⁶⁶ But this is not the case for

⁶⁵ That Ezekiel 47 and Genesis 2 are the two main sources for Revelation 22:1-2 is a fact well recognized by scholars. But concerning the question, which of these two passages is the leading source, there seems no consensus. Beasley-Murray (*Revelation*, 330), for example, suggests that Genesis 2 provides the basic elements for John's vision and to that basic elements some ingredients from Ezekiel 47 are added. Roloff (*Revelation*, 246), on the other hand, thinks that John's imagery of the river is mainly from Ezekiel 47, though a reference to Genesis 2:9 and 3:22 is also made by the author. Standing between the two poles are those who hold that a combination of Genesis 2 and Ezekiel 47 is what happens in Revelation 22:1-2 (e.g., Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 298). All these three views are possible, because Genesis 2, as we already noted, is the source for Ezekiel 47. But in terms of verbal and conceptual affiliations, Roloff's observation seems to be the case. At any rate, however, all three views support the claim I make here.

⁶⁶ This is also true to the consolation sayings in Ezekiel 33-37. For the promised restoration there is also pictured as the returning to the promise land, which will yield plenty of food for the restored Israel (34:25-30; 36:26-30, 32-36). This this-worldly nature of the program is also observable in the fact that the program is set in a particular piece of land (Ezek 47:15-20, see also 34:13, 27;

John. In his vision, the trees that symbolized Yahweh's abundant provision have been reinterpreted by him as the tree of life, the one that symbolizes immortality. Thus, what the prophet Ezekiel did not even dare to think of, i.e., the reopening of the access to the tree of life and hence the bestowing of the eternal life, is explicitly stated by John. But how could he do that? The answer to this question will be given below when the other two differences found between the two visions are considered.

The second difference between the two passages is John's making the Lamb, i.e., Christ,⁶⁷ also the source of the blessing, "Then the angel showed me the river of the water of life ... flowing from the throne of God and *of the Lamb*" (Rev 22:1).

This apposition of Christ with God as co-throned one and consequently as the source of the blessing, in the book of Revelation, is not at all a new thing. First, although in many instances the throned one is said to be God (Rev 4:1-11; 5:13; 6:16; 7:10), earlier in the book the Lamb has presented himself as the one who sits with his Father on the throne (3:21). Second, as to the source of the blessing, Revelation chapters 2-3 clearly show that the Lamb is the one who grants all sorts of blessings to the churches (2:7, 10, 17, 26-8; 3:5, 12, 21), which include the right "to eat from the tree of life that is in the paradise of God" (2:7), the blessing closely connected with, or even equivalent to, the gift of the water of life.

But how do we deal with Revelation 7:17, where the Lamb is presented as the mediator rather than the source of the spring of water of life (ὁδηγήσει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγᾶς ὑδάτων)?⁶⁸ To this difference, one is to recall that in the book of

36:8-11, 24, 28; 37:14, 21, 25). Compared to Ezekiel's program, John's vision of the new Jerusalem (21:1-22:5) is different in its newness. The city he saw is indeed located in the world (21:2, 3), but that city is characterized in (1) its heavenly origin (21:2), (2) the new setting it has, i.e., the new (καὶνὸν) heaven and the new (καὶνήν) earth (21:1), and (3) its new title, the new (καὶνήν) city Jerusalem (21:2). Notice that the *καὶνός* used here, according to J. Behm, is to be distinguished from *νέος* in that the latter is new in time or origin while *καὶνός* is new "in nature, different from the usual, impressive, better than the old, superior in value or attraction" (*TDNT* 3: 447). Theologically, says Behm on Revelation 21:1-2, "*καὶνός* is the epitome of the wholly different and miraculous thing which is brought about by the time of salvation" (449). In other words, John has attributed a different nature to his city, the one he borrowed from Ezekiel.

⁶⁷ The term, τὸ ἄρνιον (the Lamb), is particular to Revelation. For, except for John 21:15 where it refers to the community whom Jesus cares, this term is found only in Revelation. Of the 29 occurrences, 28 times it refers to Christ (once to Antichrist as Christ's anti-type, 13:11). For a detailed analysis on this, see J. Jeremias, "ἄρνιον" in *TDNT* 1: 340-41; and N. Hillyer, "The Lamb in the Apocalypse," *EvQ*, 39 (1967), 228-36.

⁶⁸ The imagery of the water of life occurs four times in the book of Revelation (7:17; 21:6; 22:1, 17). In these four occurrences, the image is presented in different wordings (besides the two texts

Revelation the Lamb, in addition to being attributed with a status equal to Almighty God,⁶⁹ is also pictured as the one who carries out the will of God. Taking Revelation chapters 4-5 as an example, we see that in chapter 5 the Lamb, because of his sacrificial death (5:6), is exalted and worshipped by the heavenly beings, who in chapter 4 offer the same degree of veneration to the throned One. In other words, the Lamb in chapter 5 is exalted to a status such as His Father has. Yet in the same chapter we also learn that the Lamb, again because of his sacrificial death, is also granted the right to open the scroll in the right hand of the God. He therefore is the one who carries out the eternal plan of his Father.⁷⁰ The first role of the Lamb which concerns, in modern theological language, the person of Christ, i.e., as God and hence the source of all blessing, is nowhere else more clearly presented than in Revelation 1:9-3:22. For there, the Lamb is first pictured as one equal to God (1:12-20)⁷¹ and then, as noted earlier, as the source of blessings (chs. 2-3). But when we come to 7:17, where the second role of the Lamb, i.e., as the executor of God's will, is presupposed (ch. 5), it is quite natural to see him serving as the mediator between his flock and God. Revelation 7:17, therefore, presents a picture of the Lamb which does not contradict but supplements the one in chapters 2-3 and in

already mentioned, "τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς," and "ἕδωρ ζωῆς" are used in 21:6 and 22:17 respectively). But as L. Goppelt observes (*TDNT* 8: 325), this difference poses no difficulty to see them as various expressions of the same image. For the different wordings resulted from different OT sources from which this imagery comes (Isa 49:10, 55:1 and Ezek 47:1ff are suggested as the OT sources for Rev 7:17, 21:6 and 22:1). Besides this reasoning, we are also to observe that the river/water of life, especially in the first three texts, is equally portrayed as the eschatological blessing granted to the conquerors who stand before the throne.

⁶⁹ Bauckham (*The Theology*, 54-65), for example, has successfully shown that by God and the Lamb's self-declarations (i.e., "I am the Alpha and the Omega," "I am the first and the last," and "I am the beginning and the end," 1:8, 17; 21:6; 22:3), and by the motif of the worship of Jesus which permeates the book, John has equated the Lamb with God, "including him in the eternal being of the one God of Israel who is the only source and goal of all things" (58). For a more detailed discussion of the worship of Jesus in Revelation, see the same author's *The Climax*, 118-49. See also Charles (*Revelation 1*, cx-cxiv) for a classical treatment on the Christology of Revelation, and D. Guthrie (*The Relevance of John's Apocalypse* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987], 37-64) for a recent discussion of the same issue.

⁷⁰ The questions concerning the form, the kind and the content of the scroll are issues greatly debated among scholars (for a concise but well-organized discussion of this, see D. E. Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 341-47). But as to our concern here, it is enough to point out that there seems no objection to see the Lamb as the one who carries out the will of God.

⁷¹ This is done in two ways: (1) the ascribing the titles and attributes of God to Christ (vv. 13-16) and (2) the self-declaration of the Lamb (vv. 17-18). For details, see Swete, *The Apocalypse*, 16-20; Mounce, *Revelation*, 78-82; Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 66-8; and Bauckham, *The Theology*, 54-8.

22:1-2.⁷² That is, with the work of Christ, the Lamb is the one who leads his flock to the water of life.

John's apposition of the Lamb with God is in fact one of the main characteristics of his entire vision of the new city Jerusalem (21:9-22:5). Earlier we noticed that while borrowing the city model from the prophet Ezekiel which is featured by the inscription of the names of the twelve tribes on its gates, John, by adding the twelve apostles *of the Lamb* (21:14), has made an enlargement of the symbolism of his city. In other words, that enlargement is done by an apposition of the old covenant people *of God* with the new covenant people *of the Lamb*. Having defined the new community as *of God* and *of the Lamb*, John therefore has no difficulty in 21:22 to state that the Lord God the Almighty, as well as the Lamb, is the Temple of the city, and in 21:23 that God, again as well as the Lamb, is the source of light for the city. This feature of the new city Jerusalem is also readily observable in the vision of the river of life, the one we are dealing with now. For, besides 22:1, 22:3 also indicates that the throne in the city is *of God* and *of the Lamb*.

In sum, John's apposition of the Lamb with God in Revelation 22:1 is not a sudden move, but a constant practice observable from the book as a whole and from the vision of the new Jerusalem in particular. As elsewhere also suggested, his apposition of the Lamb with God indicates his high Christology. In dealing with the theme of blessing, John, as he usually does, is not hesitating to include Christ in the category of divine and thus making him also the source of the blessing. Obviously this apposition has a tremendous effect on the Church's establishment of the doctrine of trinity, but it would be half-blinded if we do not observe that that apposition also plays an important role in the formation of the tenet of the Church. It is to this issue that we now turn.

Besides the two differences mentioned above, John's vision also varies from Ezekiel's in his making the blessing of healing, which was exclusively for the rebel Israel, a gift also for the nations (τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν,

⁷² The meaning of the phrase "τὸ ἀνά μέσον" (Rev 7:17), which indicates the relative location of the Lamb to the throne, is probably to be understood as a reflection of the divine nature of the Lamb. The similar phrase in 5:6, ἐν μέσῳ ... ἐν μέσῳ, it seems to me, is also to be read in this way. For different interpretations on the phrase in 5:6, see Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 351-2.

it is by the sacrificial death of the Lamb that all nations are made the people of God. Having established this, John, when he comes to the end of the book, needs not repeat the thing he already said. The only thing he needs to do is simply to declare that God will dwell among his peoples (21:3) because they are *of the Lamb* (21:15) and hence they will be the recipients of His blessing (22:1-2).

In sum, the above analyses of the differences between John and Ezekiel's visions of the river of life have shown three things. First, in John's specification of Ezekiel's trees as the tree of life, we note his awareness of the relation of Ezekiel's vision to Genesis 2. In addition to this, John's specification also reveals his reinterpretation. The prophet's this-worldly restoration has been transformed, in the light of the Christ event, by John as an other-worldly restoration. The way to the tree of life in the garden Eden is now reopened and the immortality is at hand.

Second, John's making the Lamb also the source of blessing and his making the nations also the recipients of the blessing are in fact paired. For, once the Lamb is said to be the source of blessing, the nations, redeemed by his blood, are necessary to be included in the scope of the people of God. Together these two paired changes signify John's reinterpretation of the imagery he borrowed from Ezekiel, the one that was just fitted for the old covenant people but now being transformed so to accommodate a new people from all nations.

Third, the importance of the sacrificial death of Christ, at least to John, is underlined in the fact that all the reinterpretations John made in this case are all hinged on that event.

A Comparison of John's use of Ezekiel with Ezekiel's use of Genesis

Having seen how Ezekiel uses Genesis 2 in his program of restoration and how John uses Ezekiel's river of life in his vision of the new Jerusalem, a comparison of the two usages is now called for. The scope of the comparison, in this case, will be limited to the hermeneutical level, for what we have said about the historical and psychological parallelisms between John and Ezekiel in the former case studies is also true to this case.

In comparing the two usages, one immediately notices that the prophet Ezekiel once again functions as a model for John. In Ezekiel's case, we first observe his using the first paradise as the basic paradigm to formulate his restoration. Yet in so doing, he has made a reinterpretation, i.e., to add a new element to the tradition, namely, healing. This addition, as noted, is a necessity. For, to the one who was in exile (either Ezekiel or Adam) wishing to return to his home land, healing, or more precisely the forgiving of sin, is a prerequisite. In other words, that reinterpretation resulted from the consideration of a particular historical situation. Now in John's case, we first learn that he is modeling his vision after that of the prophet Ezekiel, which is manifested not only in the correspondence of themes and words but especially in his following the reinterpretation of Ezekiel, namely, the maintaining of the therapeutic effect for the leaves of the trees. But in doing so, John has made his own reinterpretations. He has specified the trees as the tree of life. He has made an enlargement on the source, as well as the recipient, of the blessing. Yet in all these hermeneutical activities, we observed that these interpretations are all based on one historical event, that is, the death of Christ. In this regard, John is, in terms of hermeneutics, a follower of Ezekiel. He observes how Ezekiel reinterpreted the tradition of Eden and then makes his own reinterpretations. Though the result of his reinterpretations is more audacious than that of Ezekiel, the principle underlying his interpretations is the same one used by Ezekiel.

Part Three:

The Implication of John's use of Ezekiel for the Understanding of His Vision of the River of Life

John's last vision (Rev 22:1-2), like the ones he saw before, has been variously understood. The interpretations proposed by the scholars can be categorized, by and large, into two groups. The first is the view that the river John saw in this vision must be understood in its literal senses. J. A. Seiss, for example,

maintains that "the river is a heavenly river, and belongs to a heavenly city, and is for the use and joy of a heavenly people. Its waters are literal waters, of a nature and quality answering to that of the golden city to which they belong."⁷⁶ Or in R. L. Thomas' words, "in the new creation the physical properties of water will impart the spiritual life which this creation can only portray through the metaphor of water."⁷⁷ The second group is the view that the imageries used by John to describe what he saw are not to be understood in their face value. They are symbols pointing the readers to the reality of another sphere.⁷⁸

In determining the appropriateness of these two different approaches, Ezekiel's vision of the river of life, the one John resorted to, is helpful. Ezekiel's river, as noted earlier, is not to be taken literally. It is located, indeed, in a specific region, namely, Palestine. It has a definite beginning (the restored Temple) and a sure end (the Dead Sea). But the eschatological colour of the vision in general, and the miraculous healing power of the water over the Dead Sea and the prodigious nature of the trees⁷⁹ in particular suggests a symbolic reading of the vision.⁸⁰ Now in Revelation, this river is also coloured with a hue of eschaton,⁸¹ and the trees grown on the banks of the river have also the magical power to yield fruits all year round. These parallelisms suggest therefore that Ezekiel's vision is thus read by John and consequently his vision is to be read in the same manner.

Having refuted the literal way of reading John's vision, the question becomes, what do the river and the trees of John represent? On the river of life, H. B.

⁷⁶ *The Apocalypse*, 504. Charles (*Revelation II*, 174-5) also thinks that this river has no spiritual power.

⁷⁷ *Revelation 8-22*, 482. These words, it seems to me, betray his struggle in maintaining the literal reading of the text, while facing a meaning readily observable in the text, the one that can not be gained merely from the literal sense of the texts. In particular, he is here trying to answer the following question, how could the physical water sustain a life that is eternal in nature? The most ready answer to this question, as he provides, is that this water is not of this creation but of the new creation. This answer is not satisfactory. For, to any difficulty from this line of reading of the text, one could explain it with this answer. The struggle Thomas had is unnecessary if he reads the texts symbolically.

⁷⁸ Some scholars' views on the symbolism of the river of life and of the tree of life will be introduced and discussed later, so we will not mention any of them here.

⁷⁹ We here refer to the trees' supernatural ability to yield fruits every month.

⁸⁰ The points given in chapter 4 of this thesis concerning the nature of Ezekiel 40-48 also argue for a symbolic reading of the river and the tree in this passage.

⁸¹ For the spring/water of life as the eschatological gift granted by God to the conquerors, see also Revelation 7:9-17 and 21:1-8. In this theme, the book is coherent.

Swete, based on John 7:38-39, identifies the river here as the Holy Spirit.⁸² The pertinence of this proposal is to be evaluated in two points. The first is the understanding of John 7:38-39,⁸³ and the second the relation of that passage to Revelation 22:1-2,⁸⁴ the one we are dealing now. These tasks, however, are beyond the interest of this thesis, so no space will be given to them. Our interest here, to be sure, is the implication of John's use of Ezekiel for the understanding of the vision. In this respect, Swete's proposal gains no support. Neither in Ezekiel nor in Revelation do we find hints pointing us to such an understanding of the river of life.

Many scholars of the field, on the other hand, read John's river as a symbol of abundance of life. K. H. Rengstorf, for example, says that the river of life symbolizes "the fullness of the life which God will give His people."⁸⁵ This reading is certainly correct. But in considering Ezekiel 47, from where John's river comes, this reading is incomplete. In our earlier dealing with Ezekiel 47, we noticed that in addition to presenting his river as a river of life (vv. 9-10), the prophet Ezekiel also makes it a river of healing (or of forgiveness of sin; vv. 3-6; 8). And the reason for him to do so is that the forgiveness of sin must come first so that the ones in exile could experience again God's gift of life.⁸⁶ These two basic elements, the forgiveness of sin and the gift of life, as we also noted, are the points of Ezekiel's vision, for they have been underscored again in functions of the fruits (for food) and leaves (for healing) of the trees (v.12). In a word, like the two sides of a coin, the two logically connected notions have been forged by the prophet in one image, i.e., the river. Now

⁸² *The Apocalypse*, 298.

⁸³ One of the greatly debated issues on these two verses is "From whose belly, Jesus' or the believer's, flows the rivers of living water." In other words, one has to assert first that the *αὐτοῦ* of verse 38 refers to Jesus he than can make a connection from this passage to Revelation 22:1. For a detailed discussion of this, see R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John I-XII* (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), 320-21.

⁸⁴ Even if the river of John 7:38 symbolizes the Holy Spirit, one is not automatically entitled to claim that what is true in the Gospel of John is also true to Revelation. For the same imagery could symbolize different things in different texts.

⁸⁵ *TDNT* 6: 604; for more examples, see also Mounce, *Revelation*, 386; Rissi, *The Future*, 80; Hendrikson, *More than Conquerors*, 205; Ladd, *Revelation*, 286.

⁸⁶ The logic, the forgiveness of sin leading to the experiencing the fullness of life, is clearly laid behind Ezekiel 47:1-12. In vv. 3-7 we see that by the symbolic acts of crossing the river, the sin of Israel is first forgiven (vv. 3-6), then the things come into view is the trees (v. 7). This logic is again found in the second section of the vision, vv. 8-12. For there the healing power of the water is first mention (v. 8) which is followed by the descriptions of abundance of life both in land and in water (vv. 9-10).

in Revelation, this river of water is presented as God's gift of life (7:13-17; 21:6; 22:17). But in doing so, John has made it clear that this gift is given only to the thirsty, the one who desires salvation.⁸⁷ John's river, in this respect, connects also with the element of the forgiveness of sin. Considering this, it is clear that John's river parallels to Ezekiel's in that it symbolizes not just the abundance of life but also God's forgiveness of sin. To say the river is symbolizing abundance of life is certainly true, but it presents only half of the picture. A river of salvation, it seems to me, is a better term for John's river, for that term suggests the forgiveness of sin and the enjoyment of the abundance of life at the same time.

If this reading of the symbolism of the river of life is the correct one, John in Revelation 22:1 is then trying to show, in a picturesque way, that the new community of God portrayed as a city in the former vision (21:9-27) is a community of salvation. Surely this presentation of the new people of God in the book is not a new one. In both implicit and explicit ways, John has repeatedly pictured this new community as a people saved by the blood of the Lamb from all nations (Rev 1:5-6; 4:9-10; 7:9-17; 14:1-5). What we have in 22:1 is just another picture of the same people.

This is the symbolism of the river of life. But what is the tree of life in 22:2? On this item, some scholars maintain that, since the term for the tree here is ξύλον, the one that refers to the Cross in many other NT texts,⁸⁸ the tree of life here symbolizes the Cross of Calvary. D. Chilton, following St. Irenaeus, says, "the cross of Christ, the wood of suffering and death, is for Christians a tree of life."⁸⁹ This understanding, attractive as it may be, is to be rejected. Neither in Ezekiel 47 nor in Revelation (especially 2:7 where the tree is specified as the one in the primeval paradise) do we find ground for such connection.⁹⁰

Many scholars, however, take the tree of life as a symbol for immortality.⁹¹ This reading is pertinent. In our dealing with John's use of Ezekiel in this certain

⁸⁷ J. Behm, "διψάω, δίδωμι," *TDNT* 2: 226; Ladd, *Revelation*, 279.

⁸⁸ E.g., Act 5:30; 10:39; 1 Pet 2:24.

⁸⁹ *The Days of Vengeance*, 568; for a same reading, see also Hendrikson, *More than Conquerors*, 206-7.

⁹⁰ From a different perspective, R. L. Thomas refuses also this proposal, "the existence of the tree of life in the Garden of Eden long before the historical occasion of the tree of Calvary prohibit[s] any reference to the latter here" (*Revelation 8-22*, 484).

⁹¹ E.g., Charles, *Revelation I*, 54; Mounce, *Revelation*, 387; Thomas, *Revelation 8-22*, 484.

case, we already noticed that while following Ezekiel's presentation, John has specified Ezekiel's trees as the tree of life, the one in the garden Eden that imparts eternal life. Yet in our above analysis, we also noted that while specifying the trees as the tree of life, John has maintained the new element that Ezekiel added to the trees, i.e., healing. In this regard, the tree of life symbolizes not just immortality, but also God's grace of forgiveness of sin. Like his river of life, John's tree of life symbolizes also God's salvation, the act of God that begins with his forgiving sin and consummated at his granting eternal life.⁹² What John has said in 22:1, accordingly, is reemphasized in 22:2, i.e., the new people of God are a community of salvation, to whom the access to the tree of life is reopened.

Conclusion

John's using the tradition of the garden Eden in Revelation 22:1-2 has led many scholars to think that Genesis 2 and Ezekiel 47 are the two main sources for this particular vision. Our above analysis confirms this observation. Yet our analysis also shows that between these two sources, Revelation 22:1-2 clings more to Ezekiel 47 than to Genesis 2. This is readily seen not only in the likeness of John's picture of the river of life to Ezekiel's, but also in the intensity of the verbal connections between John and Ezekiel's visions. Only in one instance, i.e., the tree of life, do we find the direct influence of Genesis on Revelation.

In asserting that Ezekiel's vision is the leading source for John, we also noticed that the latter author has made his own interpretations. His interpretations, to be sure, are all based on his understanding of one historical event, namely, the death of Christ. He therefore can specify Ezekiel's trees as the tree of life, the one in the first paradise that brings immortality. He therefore can make the Lamb, as God, the source of blessing and the nations, as Israel, the recipients of the blessing.

⁹² The interchangeability of these two items is probably the reason why John at some points says that the tree of life will be granted as a gift to the conquerors (2:7; 22:14) while in other places indicates that the water of life is the gift for the victors (7:13-17; 21:6; 22:17).

In this sense, John's interpretations are done in the same manner as Ezekiel's. For, both authors' reinterpretations are made in the consideration of a particular historical event. To Ezekiel, that event is the exile, the one that signifies the breaking off the covenant relationship between God and His Israel. Restoration, hence, is to be healed, to be forgiven, and to enjoy God's blessing again. To John, the crucial event is the death of Christ, the one that signifies the emendation of the broken relationship between God and man. This event, accordingly, is anti-exile in nature. It denotes God's forgiveness and consequently brings man back to the Paradise where the tree of life is.

Salvation, as forgiveness of sin and as life giving, is hence proposed by the present writer as the term for the symbolism of both the river and the tree. For these two aspects of salvation are not only found to be the core messages of Ezekiel's vision, but also presented in the book of Revelation. This reading of the river and the tree thereby leads us to conclude that the point John intended to make in Revelation 22:1-2 is that the new people of God is a people of salvation. A people of this sort is therefore able to stand before the throne of God and of the Lamb, serving and living in the light of God and the Lamb (22:3-5), and even reigning with God and the Lamb forever and ever (22:5; cf. 2:26-27; 3:21; 5:9-10).

Chapter 6

Conclusion

In this chapter we will conclude what we have learned from our four case studies. The conclusion will focus on three aspects, i.e., the issue of allusion, the analogy of hermeneutics between John and Ezekiel, and the implications of our findings for the understanding of Revelation and for the related studies.

The issue of allusion

One of the major problems faced by the interpreters of the book of Revelation, as noted in the introduction, is the issue of allusion. That is, how to identify or isolate an allusion (or allusions) from a given text which was intentionally made by the author. This issue, as seen in the first chapter, has not been taken seriously until recent decades. In this thesis, we have applied the recently proposed method to our case studies, testing its validity and practicality. The result of our testing is quite satisfactory. The proposed method, that is, Paulien's, is helpful. In particular, the criteria, such as verbal contact, thematic connection and structural parallelism, are useful, for the evidence these criteria yielded justifies, to some measurable extent at least, the cases we claimed.

But our case studies have shown that the proposed method has been subjected to certain refinements. Specifically, the attention of the proposed method focuses mainly on the similarity of content, thus one is asked to find the verbal, thematic and structural parallels between the two texts in question. Yet our investigations have shown that besides the element of similarity of content, we are also to pay attention to other factors. The similarity of literary form, for example, is one of these. As our first case study indicated, the allusion John made in Revelation 18 to Ezekiel 26-28 is to be discerned not only by the shared words, images and structure, but also by the

shared literary forms. For, like Ezekiel, John in this case also used cargo list and dirge as means to formulate his judgment oracle. Besides the similarity of literary form, our analysis also suggests that it is necessary to pay attention to the factor that concerns the using of the same literary technique. This is seen in the third case study (chapter 4) where we have observed that John, again like Ezekiel, has also used the referral remarks as a means to group his visions in pairs. These two factors in themselves, are certainly not enough to suggest a case of allusion, but the appearance of these factors will surely enhance the validity of the alleged case.

As to the criterion of structural parallelism, our study indicates that this criterion, among many others, yields the strongest evidence for the alleged cases of allusion, because this sort of parallelism is usually comprised of other minor correspondences. As Paulien indicated, this criterion "is characterized either by a similarity in the ordering of material or by an overall similarity in content."¹ Our case studies, however, have shown that the characteristics noted by Paulien for this particular criterion are incomplete. True, the ordering of the materials in Revelation 18-22 parallels, by and large, the ordering of the materials in Ezekiel 26-48. In a relatively small scale, it is also true that the structure of Revelation 18:9-20 parallels to that of Ezekiel 26-28. But our third case has revealed that the four transitional visions of the book of Revelation (1:9-20, 4:1-5:14, 17:1-19:10, 21:9-22:9) are in fact constructed in a way similar to the visions of the book of Ezekiel. This observation, then, suggests that this so-called criterion of structural parallelism is more complicated than what has been defined. In the case of Ezekiel in Revelation, the dependence of the later book on the earlier one is seen not only in the similarity of content or of the ordering of the material, but most strikingly in the structural correspondence of the visions of the two books.

The analogy of hermeneutics between John and Ezekiel

As stated in the beginning of this thesis, the main goal of this work is to explore the hermeneutics of the prophet Ezekiel and of John so as to see whether or not these two authors, who are equally renowned for using traditions in their own writings, parallel each other in this respect. For this reason, in each of the four case

¹ *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets*, 185.

studies of this thesis we have conducted an "Old-in-Old" case study and an "Old-in-New" case study. The result of our investigations is summarized below.

First, it is interesting to note that the four "Old-in-Old" cases examined are found, respectively, in the Ezekielian passages, the ones that the four Revelation passages in turn rely on. That is, the case of Ezekiel's use of the Eden tradition (Ezekiel 28:11-19) is found in Ezekiel 26-28, the very passage that John alluded to in Revelation 18; the case of Ezekiel's use of the foe-from-the-north tradition is found in Ezekiel 38-39, the exact passage that John made use of in Revelation 19-20; etc. Taking these four cases one at a time, this phenomenon may be explained as coincidence, but taking them as a whole, coincidence is not enough to explain this matter. In other words, something more than coincidence is happening here. With regard to how John parallels, hermeneutically, to Ezekiel, this phenomenon certainly yields no concrete evidence, but the appearance of this phenomenon enhances the probability of the case we intended to build in this thesis.

Second, with four case studies, we have shown, hopefully, how John's hermeneutics resembles to Ezekiel's. In the first case, we learned firstly that the king of Tyre has been presented by the prophet Ezekiel as an Adam kind of figure, for both the king and Adam are comparable to each other, i.e., both serve as king and priest in their own domains. In Revelation 18 we then noted that the contemporary city Rome has been presented by John as the ancient city Tyre and that presentation was based on the comparability of the two cities, i.e., like Tyre, Rome is also a commercial centre, who has deified herself because of her prosperity. Thus, though dealing with different subjects, i.e., one of created beings and one of cities, the two reinterpretations are based on the same principle.

In the second case, we first noticed that the pre-exilic foe-from-the-north tradition has been reinterpreted by Ezekiel in three points: (1) placing the attack in a distant future, (2) transforming the foe into an international force, and (3) adding a new element to the tradition, i.e., the defeating of the foe by Yahweh's intervention. This reinterpretation, as noted, is done in the consideration of the event of Exile, the event that has created, at least, two problems, the theodicy and sovereignty of Yahweh. Thus, the reinterpretation is both theological and pastoral. In Revelation 19-20, we then saw that this reinterpreted tradition has been further reinterpreted by

John with a consideration of an another historical event, i.e., the Christ event. For, (1) what was said to be achieved by Yahweh's own intervention, i.e., the defeating of the foe, is now said to be done by the Son who was sent by his Father, and (2) the one that was said to be defeated, i.e., the international force, is now being assigned with a new commander in chief, i.e., Satan, the antagonist of the Son. John's reinterpretation is surely made with a theological consideration of the Christ event, but, as noted, what he has done in this case is also pastoral. For, his reinterpretation has made it clear to his suffering readers that the victory and vindication will be Christ's and therefore will also be theirs.

In the third case, then, we observed that the model of the battle camp in Numbers 2-3 has been re-modeled by Ezekiel in his restoration program. Yet, with a concern to correct the problem of the past, the prophet has redefined the city Jerusalem, depriving its privilege of being the religious and political centre and then making it a symbol for the people of Israel. In addition to this, the prophet's remodelling is done with a consideration of the development of the history, for what did not exist in the days of conquest, namely, the dynasty, has been incorporated into the program. In Revelation 21, we then noticed that, in terms of visionary mode and scenario, John has modelled his vision of the New Jerusalem after Ezekiel's vision of restoration, but in terms of content, John has focused his vision not on the temple but on the city. And as noted, his using of Ezekiel's redefined city is not pedantic. Like the prophet before him, John's using of Ezekiel's city is also done with a consideration of a later historical development. His adding the names of the twelve apostles to the foundations of the city clearly suggests that the development of the NT Church from the old people of God was in his mind when he borrowed this particular image from Ezekiel.

Finally, in the fourth case we noted that the Eden tradition has been adopted by the prophet Ezekiel in his restoration program, for the message of that tradition, i.e., God's abundant provision, is also the message he intended to deliver. Yet in adopting that tradition, the prophet has reinterpreted it by adding a new element to it, namely, healing. The reason for this reinterpretation is that the broken relationship between the exiles and their covenant Lord must be restored first before they can enjoy His blessing again. In accordance with what he has done in the preceding two

cases (i.e., the use of the foe-from-the-north tradition and of the battle camp model in Ezekiel 38-39 and 48), therefore, the reinterpretation the prophet made here is done with a concern of the historical situation that he was in. In Revelation 22 we then noted that this reinterpreted tradition is followed by John, for the healing element is also presented in his vision. But in our analysis we also noted that this tradition has been reinterpreted again by John, because the water is now said to flow from the presence of God and of the Lamb and the tree is now specified as the tree of life, the one that stands in the middle of the garden Eden and the one that stands for immortality. John's reinterpretation in this case, as noted, is made in light of the Christ event, thus what he has done here is in fact in line with what he has done in the two preceding cases.

Third, in terms of kind, the four cases examined in this thesis, it seems, fall into two groups. The first group is comprised of the first case. For in this case, what Ezekiel and John have done in their using of traditions is the same, i.e., the usages are mainly based on the comparability of the two entities involved. The second group is composed of the rest of the three cases, for what involved in all these cases is the same, namely, a reflection of a recent historical event. For Ezekiel, that event is the Exile, the one that made Yahweh a laughing matter among the nations and the one that made God's chosen people in suffering. To answer the first matter, the pre-exilic foe-from-the-north tradition is introduced and reinterpreted in the Gog oracle so that "the nations will know that I am Yahweh" (Ezek 38:23, cf. 38:16, 39:6-7, 21-23). To answer the second matter, the model Yahweh revealed in the days of conquest and the tradition of pre-Fall era are reinterpreted in the program of restoration so as to correct the past error and hence to enjoy God's blessing again. For John, however, that event is the death of Christ, the one that transforms everything. Thus, the battle is not just a conflict between the nations and God's people, but is essentially the one between Christ and his antagonist, the ancient Serpent, Satan. The scope of the restoration is then not limited to the old people of God but involves all nations; and the nature of this restoration is not just of this age but also of the age to come.

The implications of the thesis

The findings of the thesis, first of all, bear implications for the understanding of the book of Revelation. As noted in the four preceding chapters, the cases examined are helpful in answering some of the renowned issues, such as, Who is the great harlot Babylon and why is she commended? How do we approach the millennial passage and how is this millennial reign to be understood? What does the New Jerusalem stand for and how do we understand the symbolism of the river of life? Besides these, the findings of this thesis also shed light on our understanding of John's Christology. As shown in the later three case studies, John's Christology is not only to be perceived from what has been said of Christ in the book, but also to be learned from the way he reinterpreted his OT sources.

Second, the findings of the thesis have implications for the understanding of John, the author of the book. His profound knowledge of the OT in general and of Ezekiel in particular, noticed already in the past, is confirmed in this study. Our investigations, however, have shown that the depth of John's knowledge of the book of Ezekiel is to be perceived not only in his heavy use of the materials from Ezekiel, but in his following the hermeneutics of the prophet. This aspect of analogy between John and Ezekiel, then, confirms what has been observed by Fekkes from the book of Revelation, i.e., John, as a Christian, is the heir of the prophets of Israel.² In confirming this, the thesis, however, has provided four concrete examples, illustrating how the mantle of the prophet has been taken up by the author of the last book of the NT.

Third, the findings of this thesis have an implication for the issue of the unity of the book of Revelation. In our later three case studies, we learned that the eschatological battle, the scope of the people of God, and the nature of restoration have all gone through a process of reinterpretation, and that these reinterpretations are all made in the light of the Christ event. Thus, while Christ is said to be the victorious warrior of the eschatological battle, his opponent, Satan, is then logically presented as the one being defeated in the battle; and while the restored people are said to be composed of the old and new Israel, the leaves of the tree of life are then

² *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 22-58. On this, see also Mazzaferri, *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-Critical Perspective*, 259-378.

said to have a healing effect on *the nations*. In other words, the phenomenon that we observed in these cases, i.e., the reinterpretation John made in various places done in a consistent way and thorough to all the details, argues for the unity of the six chapters of the book, the passages involved in the thesis.

Fourth, the findings of this thesis suggest that more work on this particular aspect of John needs to be done. In the case of Ezekiel in Revelation, how John's use of the harlot tradition (Ezek 16 and 23) in Revelation 17 has to do with Ezekiel's use of this tradition in the two given chapters, for example, is a case waiting to be examined. How John's hermeneutics resembles that of other prophets, such as Isaiah and Jeremiah, furthermore, is territory waiting to be explored.

Fifth and finally, the findings of this thesis surely enhance our understanding of the hermeneutics of the first century church,³ but the findings provide at the same time a ground for further comparisons, e.g., the comparison of John's hermeneutics with that of Qumran community, of Pseudepigrapha writers, and of other NT authors.⁴ These, however, are beyond the limitation of this thesis.

³ In dealing with the issue of the hermeneutics of the first century church, many works, offer, rightly so, examples from the various part of the NT. But a common phenomenon observable in these works is that attention is usually focused on the Gospels, Luke-Acts, and the letters of Paul and Peter, without giving due consideration to the book of Revelation (see, e.g., D. S. Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now: Contemporary Hermeneutics in the Light of the Early Church* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992], 23-44). In this regard, this work, and the like, fills the gap.

⁴ On OT interpretation in Qumran literature, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 160-61, where a bibliography of the subject in question is given. On the same subject, see also C. A. Evans and W. F. Stinespring, eds., *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 85-137. On the hermeneutics of Pseudepigrapha, see, for example, J. H. Charlesworth and C. A. Evans, eds., *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); and Vogelgesang, *The Interpretation*, chapter 3, "The Throne vision of Revelation 4, its interpretation of Ezekiel 1, and its Relationship to Throne visions in Apocalyptic and Hekhalot Texts" (168-308).

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